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# PROCEEDINGS
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[1] Elected an Associate Member, October 19, 1961.

[2] Elected an Associate Member, October 19, 1961.

[3] Transferred to Associate Membership, April 12, 1962.

[4] Elected an Honorary Member, October 19, 1961.

# Papers

# The Greeks under Roman Rule

## Sir Ronald Syme*

In the year 196 B.C. Flamininus in pomp and ceremony at the Isthmus of Corinth announced liberty and autonomy for all the cities of Hellas. Delegates and bystanders responded with loud applause, not so much deluded as conforming to a known ritual; and the act itself derived from policy, not sentiment. Thus began the Roman protectorate. It was in truth a by-product of the war of revenge which the proud Republic insisted on waging with Philip V, the King of Macedonia. Other results followed in rapid sequence, the whole face of the world was changed, and Rome stood manifest as the paramount power.

The Romans were ready enough to break the kingdoms or subvert them, but they avoided as long as they could any annexation of territory or direct rule over Greeks. However, fifty years after the proclamation of Flamininus they were constrained to turn Macedonia into a province; and they destroyed Corinth as a lesson to the rebellious.

When Attalus, the Pergamene monarch, died in 133, bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people, western Asia Minor came under the *fasces*. Old Greece had long been in decay and impoverished, but this wide region with its opulent cities offered welcome sources of exploitation for Roman governors, tax collectors, and bankers. The burden on the subjects might have been tolerable, or perhaps alleviated in the sequel. But the year in which Asia lapsed to the Romans witnessed the outbreak of strife in the city, inaugurating a century of tribulation for Rome and the nations. The provinces were dragged into the civil wars—and they had to pay a large part of the bill. In the final struggle, when two dynasts contended for the dominion of the world, the Greek East suffered defeat on the side of Antonius at Actium.

In the meantime, gradual development or rapid changes, Rome had been adopting and absorbing the civilization of the vanquished. The revenge that "Graecia capta" achieved in the field of literature is a commonplace. The phrase has a wider validity. It covers the pervasive influence of Greece on the whole life and thought of the upper order in Roman society. And, not so acceptable, the history of the imperial Republic took on a Greek coloring, as it responded to the impact of wealth and power. The demagogue arose and the oligarch, the class war and the despot. The monarchic faction leaders (for so they were styled), claiming homage like that due to gods and supported by mercenary armies, re-enacted an earlier epoch. Men of the time could not fail to recognize the generals who fought for the inheritance of Alexander the Macedonian.

---

* This paper was read at the December, 1960, meeting.

The Greek imprint and infusion is patent from the facts (and remote in its origin, the contacts long preceding the Roman intervention in Hellas), but not always frankly acknowledged by the imperial people. Nobody could think of denying the primacy of Greece in the field of arts and science; and it was with proper pride and good sense rather than with any excessive diffidence that Roman writers went back to the Greek classics as the models on which to create a literature in the Latin language. Nonetheless, some of their claims or avowals are highly revealing, as indicative of national conceit.

Cicero, as might be expected, makes notable contributions. The dialogue *De re publica* expounds and commends the ancestral constitution as the guarantee of a balanced and well-ordered state: Senate and people keep to their proper functions, "libertas" is tempered by "auctoritas," and the Commonwealth enjoys the enlightened guidance of a small group of aristocrats. Scipio Aemilianus is the principal speaker. Greek science, he explains, if it can have any value, is only of use as a tool to sharpen the wits of the young. More important, the study of government. But theoretical disquisitions are not adequate, and those of the Greeks who had experience of affairs, such as Panaetius and Polybius, readily admitted that nothing could touch the traditional institutions of the Roman people. In another passage Scipio makes appeal to the judgment of Cato: a Greek state owed its institutions to a single lawgiver, whereas Rome was the product of time and long development, built upon the practical wisdom of a sequence of statesmen.[1]

Whence did that wisdom derive? The answer is clear: it had a basis in sound morality, in the Roman character. That sovereign truth is enounced in the exordium of the *Tusculan Disputations*. Cicero starts from the axiom that the Greeks were supreme in science and arts and letters. But he goes on to affirm that the Romans were not inferior in any fields which they deemed worthy of effort and cultivation (and a little later he mentions eloquence as an example). For the rest, political institutions, family life, or the discipline of war, the Romans are unapproachable. Where native excellence or morals are in question, no Greeks or any other nation can compete—"quae enim tanta gravitas, quae tanta constantia, magnitudo animi, probitas, fides, quae tam excellens in omni genere virtus in ullis fuit?"[2]

---

[1] Cicero, *De re publica*, I, 30, 34; II, 2.

Similar claims and attitudes recur among great nations of a later day. A writer more subtle than Cicero, more persuasive also and more honest, may suitably be invoked: namely, Walter Bagehot. His classic work, *The English Constitution,* published in 1867, will continue to be read with profit and instruction. The author, praising the ancestral constitution, conservative but flexible, has other systems in mind. Adverting on "the new communities of the colonised world" he cannot suppress a certain disappointment—"it is impossible, in fact, to convince their prosaic minds that constitutional royalty is a rational government."[3] When he came to the second edition (in 1872), nothing had intervened to modify his opinions, but rather to reinforce them. Hitherto reluctant to cite facts and names, he now said a little more about Andrew Johnson and "the characteristic evils of the Presidential system."[4]

Bagehot never visited the United States, and France was also in his thoughts. One turns to his letters from Paris on the occasion of the coup d'état of 1851. The third and fourth letters are devoted to the aptitude of the French character for national freedom and national self-government. The author enounces a paradoxical maxim. "I fear you will laugh when I tell you what I conceive to be about the most essential mental quality for a free people, whose liberty is to be progressive, permanent, and on a large scale; it is much *stupidity.*"[5] He goes on to explain, "not by an *a priori* demonstration of my own, but from the details of the present, and from the facts of history. Not to begin by wounding any present susceptibilities, let me take the Roman character—for, with one great exception—I need not say to whom I allude—they are the great political people of history. Now is not a certain dullness their most visible characteristic? What is the history of their speculative mind?—a blank. What their literature?—a copy. They have not left a single discovery in any abstract science; not a single perfect or well-formed work of high imagination."

---

[2] Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, I, 2.

[3] W. Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (Oxford, 1928), p. 223.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[5] W. Bagehot, *Literary Studies,* ed. R. H. Hutton, III (London, 1913), 28.

The fourth letter from Paris proceeds to attack and analyze. Bagehot discourses elegantly (and not without sympathy) on certain defects of the French character, as exhibited in literature, religion, and politics. He registers mobility, cleverness, impatience, and (worst of all in his opinion) the passion for logical discussion. "The habitual mode of argument is to get hold of some large principle; to begin to deduce immediately; and to reason down from it to the most trivial details of common action. *Il faut être conséquent avec soi-même*—it is their fundamental maxim; and in a world the essence of which is compromise they could not well have a worse."[6]

It is tempting (though superfluous) to subjoin the testimony of the "poor man's Bagehot," namely Mr. Podsnap. A foreign gentleman is present at the dinner party, anonymous but adequately defined by his misconceptions, linguistic and otherwise. Podsnap takes him to task and delivers a severe admonition. "We Englishmen are Very Proud of Our Constitution, Sir. It Was Bestowed Upon Us By Providence. No Other Country is so Favoured as This Country."[7]

When the foreign gentleman pointed out that "it was a little particular of Providence, for the frontier is not large," Podsnap set him right. "This Island was Blest, Sir, to the Direct Exclusion of such Other Countries as—as there may happen to be. And if we were all Englishmen present, I would say . . . that there is in the Englishman a combination of qualities, a modesty, an independence, a responsibility, a repose, combined with an absence of everything calculated to call a blush into the cheek of a young person, which one would seek in vain among the Nations of the Earth."[8]

The attitudes of nations and their conception of national *mores* are not seldom constructed on the basis of comparison with their neighbors, or revulsion, sometimes unconscious but also enhanced of set purpose by publicists and moralists. The "gravitas" and "constantia" advertised and paraded in a Roman fashion by the English in the nineteenth century owes not a little to their depreciatory verdict on the French—vain and frivolous, art-loving and immoral, captured by novelties, enslaved to abstract speculation, and in government inept and calamitous.

---

[6] *Ibid.*, III, 36.

[7] C. Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend* (Oxford, 1952), p. 133.

[8] It might seem at first sight that the novelist is alluding to Bagehot's book. That cannot be. *Our Mutual Friend* came out in nineteen monthly installments, from May, 1864, to November, 1865. Now the essays comprised in *The English Constitution* were written at various times between the spring of 1865 and January, 1867. The first of them appeared in the first number of *The Fortnightly Review* (May, 1865): see the preface of the original edition (Chapman Hall, 1867).

Something of the sort happened to the Romans, who exploited a contrast with the Greeks in their own defense against a superior civilization. Their fears and their animosity find early expression, in a comic form. Cato issued a solemn warning to his son. Enough, he said, to glance at Greek literature—"inspicere, non perdiscere." Otherwise, ruin for Rome and the moral life—"quandoque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet." That was not all. Greek doctors had taken a pledge to kill all the barbarians (for that was their shocking appellation for Romans).[9]

One peril soon became manifest, the cynical and subversive habit of Greek dialectics. The acute and versatile Carneades, on embassy from Athens with two other philosophers, took it upon himself to deliver a course of public lectures in which he had the audacity to suggest that the much vaunted justice of the Romans was merely the right of the stronger. There was some disquiet, and Cato urged that the envoys should depart as soon as their business was done and spare the ingenuous youth of Rome.[10]

As the Roman dominion widened, the two peoples got to know each other better—and for the worse. The subject race had recourse to deceit and flattery (they had a long practice in these necessary arts under previous rulers), thereby exciting distrust and aversion in their frank, honorable, and ethical governors.

Romans of the upper order, while paying due tribute to the historic glories of Hellas and the abiding achievements of her civilization, were not loath to speak their mind about contemporary Greeks. Defending a proconsul of Asia in a court of law, Cicero has warm words for the people that had been the fount and origin of all civilization—"Athenienses, unde humanitas doctrina religio fruges iura leges ortae, atque in omnes terras distributae putantur."[11] And he praises Sparta for valor and discipline and a civic order that had endured for more

[9] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIX, 14.

[10] Plutarch, *Cato*, 22.

[11] Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 62.

than seven hundred years, "unis moribus et numquam mutatis legibus." That was clear. But the accusers of Cicero's client did not derive "ex vera atque integra Graecia." They were Greeks of Asia, crafty, dishonest, and disloyal to Rome.

The next proconsul was the orator's brother, and he received a hortatory missive. Cicero reminds him never to forget that it is his duty to govern a people that was the source of "humanitas"—and further, indeed, Cicero's own excellence in oratory is a product of Hellenic tradition and models ultimately.[12] Elsewhere in the letter Cicero warns his brother against making friends among the provincials. Few of them can be reckoned worthy of "vetus Graecia." In the mass the Greeks of Asia are irresponsible and deceitful, schooled to excess in the arts of flattery through the long ages of enslavement.[13]

It would be worth knowing what opinion the Greeks had of their rulers: the crude oppressors or the ostensible philhellenes. In the first epoch the lessons of history or the belief in fortune disposed men to hope that this domination might pass like others before it, demolished by an alliance of rival powers or collapsing from internal weakness or discord. The sagacious Polybius, benefiting from his acquaintance with Rome and the governing class and not reluctant to display his judgment, was at some pains to dispel those fancies. The rise of Rome to predominance in the Mediterranean world (he argued) ought not to be dismissed as a product of chance: it was due to a system of government unique of its kind and immune from the endemic maladies that infested the Greek commonwealths.

The turn which the imperial Republic took in the sequel failed to bear out the diagnosis of Polybius (and he may have come to have his doubts). That was no consolation to the Greeks, but an intensification of their misfortunes. They kept silent for the most part—the oligarchies in the cities relied on Rome for support against the lower classes. And intellectuals could profit, attaching themselves to Roman patrons.

Nor should the civil wars of the Romans be regarded as an unmitigated disaster. On a cool estimate they accelerated change, forced Rome forward on the path to monarchy, and opened avenues of rapid advancement for all manner of eager partisans among the ambitious or the disinherited in Italy and in the provinces west or east. Antonius took over the *clientelae* of Pompeius and of Caesar, vassal princes or urban magnates. Splendid prospects now beckoned to the educated class in the Greek East. Polemo, the son of a wealthy orator from Laodicea, was appointed King of Pontus; the grammarian Nicias became tyrant of Cos; the poet Boethus managed the affairs of Tarsus; and a harp player, Anaxenor, controlled the taxes of four cities in Asia.[14]

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[12] Cicero, *Ad Q. fratrem*, I, I, 27.

[13] *Ibid.*, 16.

In this new Hellenistic age the Greek world began to discover salvation, honor, and revenge under the rule of a Roman monarch. Antonius with his prestige and the resources of the East behind him might defeat or baffle his aggressive rival. Or, without conflict for the moment, the world already divided between the dynasts might split apart, as geography and civilization, plain facts, appeared to recommend and dictate.

Fate and Caesar's heir decided otherwise. Those aspirations were quickly dashed. The catastrophe at Actium seemed to herald a renewed era of depression.

Rome and Italy prevailed in a contest which emotion and artifice converted into a crusade against the foreigner, with an enhancement of nationalistic fervor and prejudice. As Virgil describes the battle on the Shield of Aeneas, on the one side advanced the renegade Roman (with the Egyptian queen not far behind),

> hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis
> victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro
> Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum
> Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.[15]

Against him came the heir of Caesar,

> hinc augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
> cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis.

The poet also, conceding in due form to the Greeks their supremacy in the arts and sciences (and oratory likewise), reaffirms in proud words the mission of the imperial people,

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.[16]

Romance and xenophobia now conspired to create fancy pictures and edifying fables. In contrast to foreign monarchs, pompous, luxurious, or dishonest, stood the plain peasant folk, tough and enduring. A champion of Italy elsewhere in the epic proclaims it,

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[14] Strabo, XII, 578; XVI, 648, 658, 674.

[15] Virgil, *Aen.*, VIII, 685 ff.

[16] *Ibid.*, VI, 851.

> non hic Atridae nec fandi fictor Ulixes.[17]

It will be instructive to take a closer look at Roman ideals and their Augustan exponents. There is duplicity everywhere, not less entertaining when it is unconsciously manifested. Certain forms of deceit, however, were patent and deliberate. Thus the position of the ruler. The First Citizen holds delegated authority from Senate and People. At the same time he is a monarch in the eastern lands, the master of vassals and arbiter over the cities. Antonius had selected four princes to rule in the dependent kingdoms from Pontus down to the border of Egypt. They were kept by Caesar Augustus. The cities also made their peace easily with the victor, and the intelligentsia flocks at once to the capital of the world: philosophers, orators, doctors, historians.

Among them the ruler found friends, advisers, and agents (one will not neglect the philosophers Areus and Athenodorus in the entourage of Augustus).[18] And before long the cosmopolitan character of the dynasty became manifest in the three emperors who had the blood of Antonius in their veins, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. With Nero, Greek influences appear to triumph. Making a tour of Hellas and competing at the festivals, Nero advertised his tastes and sentiments by proclaiming the liberty of Hellas at the Isthmus.

Nero's philhellenism was premature and abortive, calling forth a strong reaction in Italy and in the lands of the Roman West. However, while an emperor might further the working of the historical process, he could not do much to retard it. Despite disguise and equivocation, he would have to acknowledge a plain fact, that he ruled over a Greco-Roman world. That fact emerges to open day and frank expression with Hadrian, only a century and a half after the Battle of Actium. Men called him a "Graeculus"; and certain of his acts and attitudes appear excessive, as when he took "Olympius" for title or paraded as the second founder of Athens. Nonetheless, what matters is not so much the personality as the policy.

The Greeks were now resurgent, confident, and voluble. Their renaissance did nothing for scientific enquiry, and no poems or his-

[17] *Ibid.*, IX, 602.

[18] *PIR*$^2$, A1035, 1288.

tories emerged of any merit. Instead, public eloquence. Orators ornate and ingenious refurbished the themes of ancestral prowess and declaimed about virtue and vice. Most of these sophists were of ancient lineage in the cities, and of inherited wealth. Their pride and conceit knew no limit, nourished on the eager applause of fanciers; and emperors were among their admirers.

In the year 143 the sophist Aelius Aristides delivered his encomium on Rome in the presence of Antoninus Pius. This speech can be dismissed as an amalgam of well-worn commonplaces. That does not preclude its being taken to reflect educated sentiment. The orator conceives of the Empire as a federation of free cities, contented and prosperous under the presidency of an enlightened monarch.[19]

In that same year the Athenian Herodes Atticus held the *fasces* as *consul ordinarius*, while Cornelius Fronto, the pride of Roman eloquence at that time, was merely one of the suffect consuls. The collocation of these two names illuminates a whole epoch, not always in its better aspects. About Herodes much is known, though his writings have not survived; and one can have some notion of the performance of Fronto. After Tacitus and Juvenal the literature of the Latins had gone into a sad decline. If men had anything to say (and few had), they tended to use the other language. Whereas Trajan had written military *commentarii* in the tradition of conquering generals, Marcus Aurelius held somber discourse with his soul and consigned the meditations of a philosopher in the idiom of that profession.

The full surge of the Hellenic Renaissance engulfs Rome in the epoch of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. It had been rising well before that, and was already perceptible toward the end of the first century A.D. Two names stand out as heralds, as something more than mere precursors, namely Plutarch, who was born about the year 45, and Dio of Prusa, who may be presumed his coeval. Dio's two orations *On Monarchy* extol a ruler who was chosen by Providence for his high estate, who had a dedicated existence of toil and care, who loved the citizens and the soldiers. The theme is conventional, the treatment generalized—but applicable to Trajan. Dio also delivered sermons to the address of sundry cities, commending the benefits of law and order and enjoining social harmony between the rich and the poor. Dio himself belonged to the leading family at Prusa—and they did not like him there.

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[19] See the valuable edition and comments of J. H. Oliver, "The Ruling Power. A study of the Roman Empire in the second century after Christ through the Roman Oration of Aelius Aristides," American Philosophical Society, *Transactions*, XLIII (1953), 871–1003.

Plutarch is in every way a more notable as well as a more estimable figure. Senators who came to Greece in official posts took pleasure in his company and remained faithful to their attachment; and visits to the capital extended the circle of his acquaintanceship. The catalogue of Plutarch's Roman friends is variously instructive.[20] It covers a long span of time, and it includes no less a person than Q. Sosius Senecio, twice consul, a commander of armies, and high in favor with Trajan.

Plutarch is a fluent and voluminous writer, with an open mind and a wide range of curiosity, but lacking depth, vigor, or originality. The topics on which he and his friends hold earnest debate exhibit all too often the vagaries of the "higher thought" at its worst: erudite fancy, traditional doxology, or edifying credulity. Nonetheless, some of the moral discourses convey lessons of good sense and humanity; and here and there in the vast corpus items emerge of value for the light they throw on current affairs or preoccupations. An example is the treatise *Praecepta rei publicae gerendae*. It carries an appeal to the better sort in the cities. They must avoid dissension, abate their pride in past glories, and acquiesce with a proper spirit of submissiveness in the rule of Rome—and they have no choice.

Another tract, *De fortuna Romanorum*, takes up and develops the argument that Polybius affected long since. Plutarch concludes that fortune and the virtues of the imperial people have combined to one happy end, with divine providence lending a hand.

Plutarch composed history, of a kind, namely a biographical sequence of the eight emperors from Augustus to Vitellius (only the *Galba* and *Otho* survive). That enterprise may have suggested an ampler theme, the *Parallel Lives*. The work implies and confirms a reconciliation between the two peoples: a Greek writer admits the erstwhile barbarians to parity of honor in the civilized world. The notions expounded a generation later in the panegyric of Aelius Aristides would not have shocked the sage of Chaeronea.

Plutarch unobtrusively enjoins equality and concord. One would have liked more detail. His exhortation to local worthies in the *Praecepta rei publicae gerendae* fails to mention the fact that Greeks can now enter the Roman Senate. Only once, and in another treatise, does that fact emerge, almost by accident.[21] Nor is any of the Greek interlocutors in the dialogues described as a senator, though one at least of them had that rank. This is the man Plutarch calls "King Philopappus."[22] His monument stands on the Hill of the Muses at Athens, and the inscriptions on it disclose his identity and pedigree, with a triple style of nomenclature.[23] He is not only King Philopappus (of the house of Commagene, with Seleucid blood), but an honorary citizen of Athens, and a Roman consul, *viz.* C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus.

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[20] For the list, K. Ziegler in *R-E*, xxi, 687–694.

Indeed, Plutarch betrays no sign anywhere that men of his own generation from the Greek East had already held the *fasces* at Rome. Ti. Julius Celsus was consul suffect in 92, A. Julius Quadratus in 94 (from Ephesus and Pergamum respectively).[24] Who would have guessed it? Nowhere else, perhaps, have epigraphic discoveries done more to supplement the written sources for Roman history and confute the easy assumptions thence derived.

The Latin authors also happen to be mute. Pliny pays conventional homage to Greek culture and mentions several orators and philosophers by name; but none of the known senators of Greek origin is disclosed among his friends and correspondents. Juvenal, to be sure, is moved to indignation by the Greek and oriental invasion,

> non possum ferre, Quirites,
> Graecam urbem.[25]

He goes into detail. It is the "Graeculus esuriens" whom he derides, the needy and unscrupulous immigrant of low degree, that is all. No hint of the supreme and intolerable enormity, aliens wearing the toga with the broad purple stripe. Here as elsewhere the satirist is no safe guide to the dominant factors in the history of his age.

How did the Romans then feel about the emergence of Greeks as senators and consuls? Indirect testimony can perhaps be elicited from the pages of Cornelius Tacitus. Several years after the completion of his *Historiae* Tacitus went out as proconsul to govern the province Asia (for the tenure 112 to 113). There is no sign that he had been east of the Adriatic hitherto, and there was much to impress or annoy him in this new experience. He could contemplate in their own cities the opulence and the monuments of the eastern magnates who sat beside him in the Senate of Rome.

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[21] Plutarch, *De tranquillitate animi*, 470 C.

[22] Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.*, 628 B.

[23] Dessau, *ILS*, 845.

[24] *ILS*, 8971 (Ephesus); 8819 (Pergamum).

[25] Juvenal, III, 60 f.

His next work, the *Annales*, begun (it can be conjectured) about 115, shows a heightening of prejudice against the Greeks and their civilization. It comes out in various forms. Concluding Book II with a laudation of the champion of German freedom, Tacitus deplores the inadequate honor paid to Arminius by the Romans who (he complains) are inordinately preoccupied with ancient history. The Greeks neglect Arminius totally, admiring only what is Greek—"sua tantum mirantur."[26] This is a strange outburst. One is impelled to ask, which were those Greek historians who ought to have commemorated the German hero? If Tacitus is hinting at the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch, his censure is not well-aimed.

There is also his treatment of Nero, to be estimated in relation to the contemporary scene. Whatever theory he held about the date at which Tacitus set about writing the *Annales*, it can hardly be denied that the Neronian books were composed in the early years of Hadrian's reign. The consequence is important.

Nero, it was widely believed in the eastern lands, was not dead but lurking in Parthia and likely to come back. A whole series of impostors traded on the affection or the fear that adhered to his name, and faith in his survival had not yet evaporated in the time of Trajan. Such were the fancies current among the vulgar or seditious. To a Roman of traditional sentiments it was evident that Nero had indeed come again —in the person of Hadrian.

That the lands of Greek speech would prosper under the imperial peace, with a new flowering of arts and letters, was a reasonable forecast. And no doubt the course of time would bring some kind of reconciliation between the two peoples in the clear recognition of their respective roles: the arms of Rome and the arts of Hellas.

What had in fact occurred was a political resurgence as well, and more or less contemporaneous. Who would have dared to predict that, only four generations from the defeat of Antonius and the resonant victory of Italy and the West, the Greeks would have command of

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[26] Tacitus, *Ann.*, II, 88.

Roman legions, govern provinces, and accede to the highest honors in the State?

The process excites curiosity and demands an explanation.[27] It is easy and suspect merely to adduce the tastes and personality of an emperor—and, for that matter, the philhellene Hadrian had perhaps no more influence than his military predecessor, ostensibly his opposite in education, habits, and character. Instead, large factors will be invoked (in the first instance, centralized government, local aristocracies, the higher education).

Plutarch reports an anecdote not at all trivial. Adverting on Alexander, who sighed for fresh worlds to conquer, Caesar Augustus expressed his surprise: it is a greater thing to organize an empire.[28]

To administer the world, the Caesars need allies and agents of various kinds—officers in the army, financial procurators, and senatorial governors of provinces. Talent and ambition respond among the men of substance and repute in the towns of Italy and the West. Hence the rise of that "managerial aristocracy," which quickly displaces the survivors of the old *nobilitas*. And before long provincials draw level with the Italian *novi homines* and even take the lead. In the first years of Nero, policy is directed by Annaeus Seneca and Afranius Burrus; under the Flavian emperors Julius Agricola, consul and governor of Britain, is the type and model of the new aristocrat, whom his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus, exhibits as a kind of prefiguration of Trajan; and with Trajan a group of families from Spain and from Gallia Narbonensis is able to produce an emperor and establish a dynasty.

It was not easy to discriminate between Roman Italy and the Roman West. The heterogeneous peoples of the peninsula came late to unity, and before that the Roman People spread out beyond the geographical boundary of Italy. Some of the provincial magnates came of old immigrant stock, as their nomenclature reveals, for example, Annaei, Ulpii, and Dasumii in the southwest of Spain. Elsewhere the local aristocracies are largely of native descent, especially in Gallia Narbonensis, where the old tribal capitals Vienna and Nemausus surpass the Roman colonial foundations; and even in those colonies (such as Arelate and Forum Julii) there had been an admixture of natives from the beginning.[29]

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[27] For the detail of the process see C. S. Walton, "Oriental Senators in the Service of Rome," *JRS*, XIX (1929), 39–66; P. Lambrechts, "Trajan et le recrutement du sénat," *L'antiquité classique*, V (1936), 105–114; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 506–511; and C. Habicht, "Zwei neue Inschriften aus Pergamon," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 9/10 (1959/60), 109–127.

[28] Plutarch, *Apophthegmata regum et imperatorum*, 207 A.

As for the lands beyond the Adriatic, Caesar, Antonius, and Augustus planted there a number of veteran colonies. It would be no surprise therefore if in due course cities like Pisidian Antioch or Alexandria in the Troad produced their senators and consuls. Furthermore, businessmen had taken up residence long ago in various places. Their descendants will not be left out of the count. Two of them can be detected in the Senate before the end of Nero's reign.[30] Also, even a man from Cyrene, probably Greek rather than Italian by his ultimate extraction.[31]

These are sporadic examples, perhaps of no great significance. Insofar as Greeks are concerned, their incursion into the administration is first detected in the Palace and in the cosmopolitan entourage of the Caesars.[32] When Claudius Caesar went to Britain, he took with him his doctor, Xenophon of Cos, and his astrologer, the great Balbillus. These two, and certain other Greeks, held the post of military tribune. Others again are to be discovered as procurators; and Claudius appointed as governor of Judaea Ti. Julius Alexander, a renegade Jew, nephew of the learned Philo. Then still higher posts became accessible through the influence of the court circle. At the beginning of the reign of Nero, Balbillus was made Prefect of Egypt: at its end, Julius Alexander was there. This is the man who managed the proclamation of Vespasian on July 1, 69.

On a surface view, the history of Rome, passing after turmoil into the peace of the Caesars, is slow motion and long development. Certain processes, however, are accelerated by fortune or accident. So was it with the admission of Greeks to the governing class and their advance to the consulate. Four episodes can be singled out, with brief documentation on a few noteworthy names.

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[29] R. Syme, *Tacitus*, pp. 590, 620.

[30] Namely L. Servenius Cornutus from Acmonia and M. Plancius Varus from Perge. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 509, n. 4.

[31] (M.) Antonius Flamma (*PIR*², A831); cf. his descendant mentioned on the inscription *AE* 1960, 199.

[32] For the detail about the persons here named, cf. Syme, *Tacitus*, pp. 508–509.

The first was a civil war. When after the fall of Nero the pretenders Galba and Otho succumbed in quick succession, Vespasian rose against Vitellius. The eastern armies proclaimed him, and rapid recompense accrued to his partisans. Among them was Ti. Julius Celsus, then serving as military tribune in one of the pair of legions at Alexandria. Celsus was admitted to the senatorial order.[33] Likewise, a man from Pergamum, A. Julius Quadratus.[34] Both now embarked on the career of honors, Quadratus in civilian occupations only, but Celsus later commanding a legion in Syria. It could hardly have been expected that these men would reach the consulate.

Next, a crisis in 88 and 89. In the season of Domitian's war against the Dacians occurred the proclamation of Antonius Saturninus, the legate of Upper Germany, and the emergence of a false Nero whom the Parthians supported with a threat of hostilities. To counter discontent and conciliate the upper order in the East, Domitian appointed Celsus as governor in Cilicia, Quadratus in Lycia-Pamphylia. Those provinces normally led to a consulship, which office duly fell to Celsus in 92, and to Quadratus two years later.

Third, the accession of Trajan. In his youth Trajan had spent long years in the East (his father was legate of Syria and proconsul of Asia), and he knew the city aristocrats and the sons of dynastic houses. Hence came new and startling honors for Julius Quadratus, who commemorated the Emperor's friendship with an edifice at Pergamum dedicated to "Iuppiter amicalis."[35] Though Quadratus lacked experience with the armies, Trajan made him governor of Syria with three legions and consul for the second time (in 105). After which, it was no surprise that Quadratus, like Celsus, became proconsul of Asia.

Another Pergamene, C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (consul suffect in 105), commanded an army corps in Trajan's second war against the Dacians and later governed three consular provinces: Syria, Cappadocia, and Dacia.[36] Bassus was of regal stock. Two other consuls may be noted: Philopappus, the grandson of Antiochus IV, the last ruler of Commagene, and King Alexander, whose father had held a small principality in Cilicia.[37]

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[33] *ILS*, 8971.

[34] *ILS*, 8819.

[35] *IGR*, IV, 336.

[36] Revealed only by an inscription, and not so long ago. For the text see A. v. Premerstein, "C. Julius Quadratus Bassus Klient des Jüngeren Plinius und General Traians," *Bayerische Sitzungsberichte, phil.-hist. Abt.*, 1934, Heft 3. Not, however, to be held identical with Julius Bassus, the proconsul of Bithynia whom Pliny defended.

Lastly, Trajan's war against the Parthians. That enterprise evoked the romantic past, Rome taking up the old feud of the Greeks and Persians as champion and avenger; and the parallel between Trajan and the Macedonian conqueror did not fail to get emphasis. Warfare brought quick promotions. One of the successful generals was a certain Julius Alexander, perhaps a son of King Alexander.

A potent nexus of dynastic families can be discerned. An inscription attests the lineage and connections of Julius Severus of Ancyra. He claimed descent from Attalus the King and from three Galatian tetrarchs; he was cousin to four men of consular rank (Julius Quadratus, King Alexander, Julius Aquila, Claudius Severus); and he was related to a large number of senators.[38]

This group of magnates stands in high relief. What conclusions follow?

Other types of senator will have to be allowed for, such as the consular parent of the Athenian Herodes, or a certain Claudianus, the first senator from Lycia.[39] Nor will the men deriving from the Roman colonies be neglected. Valid statistics are not to be had, and there is a danger of overestimating the oriental influx, or the importance of the regal and dynastic group. Hadrian was ill-disposed toward most of the friends and allies of his predecessor; he detested pomp, he was not impressed by mere pedigree; his preferences may have turned from the descendants of kings and tetrarchs to the more normal representatives of urban aristocracies.[40]

However that may be, it is right to lay emphasis on the reign of Trajan, already notable because in his accession culminates the triumph of the new Romans from the western lands. Some of them were traditional in ideals or strained the conservative attitudes, but others could not resist the seductions of Greek culture. Literary pursuits had for a long time been conspicuous in the administrative class, senatorial or equestrian. At the top, the ex-consuls selected to govern the armed provinces of Caesar are far from being mere professional soldiers. Trajan's especial friend, Licinius Sura, was an orator and a man of taste. And, next to Sura in exalted company, Sosius Senecio, the friend of Plutarch, exemplifies the alliance between education and government.

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[37] Philopappus (*ILS*, 845: Athens) was consul suffect in 109, Alexander presumably in 106 or 108.

[38] *OGIS*, 544 (Ancyra).

[39] *PIR*$^2$, C 801; 753.

[40] Such as Flavius Arrianus of Nicomedia, consul (about 130) and governor of the military province of Cappadocia: also an author. The late entry to the Senate of the illustrious Julius Severus (*OGIS*, 544) is most peculiar.

That alliance finds visible commemoration in a monument at Ephesus. The heirs of Julius Celsus constructed a great library in his honor, and he was buried in the basement. The visitor who approached the steps of the library could read, in either of the two languages of the Empire, the inscribed career of a consul and governor of provinces: Latin on the right hand, Greek on the left.[41]

The phenomenon, here placed on brief record with names and dates, is momentous and exciting. Like the rise of the provincial elite of the Roman West, this process has not always been accorded recognition and honor by writers and thinkers whose extensive view embraces the whole field of ancient civilization and the modern world. A book that bears the engaging title of *The Open Society and its Enemies*, written by a man of liberal aspirations, turns out to be a deception.[42] He has much to say about the Greeks (not omitting their great historian, Thucydides), but Rome is neglected or discarded. Yet Rome can offer instruction—and a social order not denying the attractive label.

The author, it is true, took theory and speculation for his subject, not men and life and history. For the same reason, no doubt, others who expound the political thought of the ancient world and its subsequent influence find it an easy leap from Aristotle to Augustine.

There was less excuse for the author of the many volumes modestly entitled *A Study of History* (the twelfth of them is now to hand). He goes out of his way to acknowledge the benefits he owes to a thorough grounding in the Greek and Latin classics. And the defects of that sort of education are generously conceded, some obvious, others contestable, such as the deleterious effects of Latin prose composition on a man's writing of English.[43] Not everybody will be disposed to accept that diagnosis or apologia. However that may be, a question arises: what manner of classical education was it that prevented him from doing justice to the achievement of the Roman People?[44]

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[41] The edifice is described in *Forschungen in Ephesos*, v (1944).

[42] K. R. Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies* (London, 1945).

[43] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, xii (London, 1961), p. 588.

The literature of the Latins has little to offer in the way of political theory. Yet there was political thinking among the Romans. Something can be deduced from their language, their policy, and their attitudes. And one precious document is extant.

The historian Tacitus was impelled to reproduce and exploit an oration of Claudius Caesar, setting forth the progressive enlargement of the Roman State through the ages. His version exhibits significant variants from the original (which is preserved on a bronze tablet at Lyons) and fresh arguments of no small cogency.[45] Under the mask of the imperial orator, the alert historian rebukes Athens and Sparta for their failure to extend the franchise; he registers the mingling of Roman and native in the military colonies; he alludes to the cultural assimilation between Romans and Gauls; and, above all, he puts in sharp prominence the senators issuing from Spain and Gallia Narbonensis.

The consular historian had his eye on the new rulers of Rome—and on his own origin. It is no paradox to conclude that the man who admired Arminius and who expounded in proper majesty the imperial mission of Rome was himself of alien stock.[46]

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[44] The "reconsideration" in Vol. XII (pp. 375–392) is not a complete answer to the objections raised by J. F. Leddy, "Toynbee and the History of Rome," *The Phoenix*, XI (1957), 139–152. And it is unfortunate that the Bibliography, which admits newspaper articles from the five continents, found no place for the review by H. M. Last in *JRS*, XXXIX (1949), 116–121.

[45] Tacitus, *Ann.*, XI, 24; cf. *ILS*, 212 (Lugdunum).

[46] R. Syme, "Who Was Tacitus?" *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XI (1957), 185–198.

# Ecclesiastical Antecedents of Criminal Punishment in Early Massachusetts

GEORGE L. HASKINS*

STANDARD accounts of English ecclesiastical law in the early seventeenth century have delineated a system of jurisdiction entirely separate and distinct from that of the common law.[1] They describe a system under which the spiritual courts, which had survived the breach with Rome, still operated in full vigor, exercising, as they had in the Middle Ages, wide jurisdiction over numerous types of cases not cognizable by the temporal courts. Accordingly, it has become common learning that they not only had disciplinary and corrective authority over the religious life and moral conduct of all subjects of the realm, but that in matrimonial and testamentary causes they had original and normally final jurisdiction.[2]

Since the Reformation, some secularization of ecclesiastical justice had taken place as a result of the doctrine of civil supremacy and of the prohibition against academic study of the canon law: the law of the Church had become national, and the principal officers of its courts exercised their ordinary powers under and from the king. Nevertheless, the organization of those courts had been retained with little change. By the early 1600's, however, statutes had already begun to curtail their powers.[3] Moreover, the High Commission already supervised much of their work and had also assumed an original jurisdiction which was almost coextensive with their own.[4] Lord Coke had announced the doctrine that "where the common or statute law giveth remedy in *foro seculari* . . . the conusans of that cause belongeth to the king's temporall courts onely," unless the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts was expressly saved.[5] Those temporal courts, infused with new vigor and aggressiveness, were endeavoring to limit the jurisdiction of the church courts, suppressing what they could and thwarting through writs of prohibition much that they could not immediately capture.[6] In time, as a result of progressive attrition of their powers, the church courts were to become, by the end of the nineteenth century, merely special tribunals "for enforcing propriety of conduct upon the members of a particular profession."[7] In the early seventeenth century, however, their reach was still long and was felt throughout the kingdom by countryfolk and townsmen alike. Searching interrogatories elicited from the churchwardens of every parish reports of the delinquencies of the inhabitants, and on the basis thereof the courts of the archdeacons punished as sins a wide variety of offenses ranging from adultery, defamation, drunkenness, fornication, and idleness to blasphemy, heresy, and profaning the Sabbath. So extensive was their jurisdiction, so fine the mesh of their nets, that the church courts resembled modern police courts operating under a system which in name and in fact was an Inquisition, differing from that of Spain primarily in that they did not employ torture.[8]

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* This paper was read at the November, 1960, meeting.

[1] See generally, W. S. Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, I (London, 1931), 614–632; R. Phillimore, *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England* (London, 1873).

[2] Holdsworth, *History*, I, 621–630.

[3] *E.g.*, Statutes 25 Henry VIII, ch. 6; 33 Henry VIII, ch. 8; 1 Elizabeth, ch. 2; 1 James I, ch. 11.

[4] See Holdsworth, *History*, I, 609.

[5] Coke on Littleton, 96 b.

Unhappily, the accepted outlines of the two systems of courts, civil and ecclesiastical, and of the relationships between them, ignore or obscure the extent to which their officers worked together in the administration of criminal justice. Dualism of authority there was, but many offenses cognizable by the church courts were also punishable, under the statutes or otherwise, by justices of the peace and even by the justices of assize.[9] More importantly, and to a degree that seems seldom to have been remarked upon, ecclesiastics were frequently appointed justices of the peace and presided with lay magistrates over the secular courts of quarter sessions. In Elizabeth's reign, the appointment of bishops as justices of the peace appears to have been fairly common, and the practice was also pursued under James I and Charles I.[10] Clerical participation in the business of the various commissions of the peace was not limited to the prelacy but included deans, archdeacons, rectors, and vicars.[11] Moreover, the clerics named in the commissions were commonly "of the quorum," that is, they were among those justices regarded as especially qualified and learned in their office and hence entrusted with special responsibilities under the statutes.[12] An example of the activities of such clerical justices is found at a general sessions of the peace held at Wells in January of 1630/31, where a dean, an archdeacon, and a rector joined with lay justices in dealing with such diverse and non-clerical matters as the enforcement of a rate for transporting rogues to Ireland, the approval of the construction of a house of correction, the support of bastard children, as well as differences between masters and apprentices.[13]

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[6] Holdsworth, *History*, I, 629; II, 558–559.

[7] J. F. Stephen, *A History of the Criminal Law of England*, II (London, 1883), 437.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, 402, 404.

[9] *E.g.*, Statute 1 Elizabeth, ch. 2, §§ 4 and 5.

[10] Archbishop Whitgift, Thomas Cartwright's antagonist in the so-called "Admonition Controversy," asserted that "As for such civil office as be committed to [the ministers of the church], they be rather helps to their vocation than impediments; for the office of a jus-

The service of parish clergymen as justices of the peace is a remarkable instance of the convergence of the civil and ecclesiastical systems of justice, but even more noteworthy is the service of archdeacons, who were the principal judicial officers of the spiritual courts. The fact that laymen and ecclesiastics worked together as they did, particularly at the local levels of governmental activity which affected the daily lives of men everywhere throughout England, suggests that the arrangements developed in early Massachusetts between the churches and the civil government, as well as many of their practices,

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tice of the peace, of an high commissioner, and such like is to punish vice and iniquity, to see good order kept in the commonwealth as well in matters touching religion as other common and public business." J. Whitgift, *Answere to a certen Libell* (1572), quoted in D. J. McGinn, *The Admonition Controversy* (New Brunswick, 1949), p. 353. For examples of clerical participation in the business of the sessions of the peace, see, *e.g.*, A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne* (London, 1878), pp. 75, 331; *Calendar of the Quarter Sessions Papers, 1591–1643*, ed. J. W. Willis Bund, I (Worcester, England, 1900), xvii–xxxi and *passim*; *Quarter Sessions Records for the County of Somerset*, ed. E. H. B. Harbin, II (London, 1908), xviii–xx and *passim*.

[11] The first Commission of the Peace for Somerset under Charles I comprised fifty-nine persons, of whom six were clergymen. The latter included the Dean of Wells, the Archdeacon of Wells, the Rector of Kinweston, and the Vicar of Chew Magna. Harbin, *Quarter Sessions Records*, II, xviii–xix. The list of justices of the peace for Lancashire in 1615–1616 includes the Warden of the College of Christ in Manchester and the Rector of Sefton. *Manchester Sessions, 1616–1622/23*, ed. E. Axon, I (n. p., 1901), v–vi. The Dean of Worcester, the Archdeacon of Worcester, and the Vicar of Cropthorne served as justices of the peace for Worcestershire under James I. Bund, *Calendar*, I, xxi–xxii and *passim*. John Williams, who later became Lord Chancellor under James I, served as justice of the peace in Northampton. J. Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, III (New York, 1874), 133.

[12] See W. Notestein, *The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603–1630* (New York, 1954), p. 211.

[13] Harbin, *Quarter Sessions Records*, II, 138–147.

may have been less a departure from English ways than has generally been supposed.

Conclusive evidence has been adduced to demonstrate not only that the Massachusetts Puritans were essentially, and in most respects, Englishmen of their time but that the early development of colonial law largely followed the course of English ways.[14] In the development of that law, traditional ideas and practices were syncretized with Biblical precepts on the basis of reason and experience in order more successfully to carry out the basic mission for which the colony had been founded. Although, in a sense, to pull the strands asunder does violence to the coherence of the pattern of the colonists' accomplishments, identification of the varied threads of tradition and design helps to trace the sources of their ideas and, at the same time, aids our understanding of the alchemy of cultural transformation.

Despite the antipathy which the Massachusetts Puritans felt toward the Established Church, they not only reproduced the dualism of authority they had known in England but adopted many of the procedures and punishments of English ecclesiastical discipline. In the colony, the churches as well as the civil courts became active agencies of law enforcement, and on them were conferred extensive powers over religious and moral offenses.[15] In several respects, however, the powers of the Massachusetts churches were less extensive than those of the ecclesiastical courts: jurisdiction over testamentary causes and over divorce was assigned to the civil courts,[16] and jurisdiction over certain types of criminal offenses which in England were primarily within the province of the spiritual courts was shared in Massachusetts by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.[17] The weapons, too, of the Massachusetts churches were more limited in that they were of little avail against the majority of colonists who were not church members. A further and more fundamental difference between the English and the Massachusetts systems was that under the latter, church and state were, in principle, separate, laboring, as Thomas Lechford says, "for a just and equall correspondence in jurisdictions, not to intrench one on the other."[18] Unlike English clerics, the New England clergy did not sit in the civil courts, and even the elders of the churches, although they were laymen, were not permitted to serve as judges.[19] Nevertheless, as in England, crimes or misdemeanors might be, and frequently were, punished twice—in the courts as a civil offense and in the churches as an offense against morality and church discipline.[20] Thus, in England a man could be convicted by the quarter sessions for bastardy and by the archdeacon's court for fornication,[21] and in Massachusetts conviction in the county court could be, and frequently was, followed by a second trial and conviction by the church brethren, and vice versa.[22] Such double punishments were largely the consequence of the diligence of the officers of the respective law enforcing agencies, but presentments were unquestionably also promoted by their active co-operation. Just as the presence of an ecclesiastic on a court of quarter sessions would virtually guarantee, in appropriate cases, subsequent presentation of a culprit before the archdeacon's court, in Massachusetts the magistrates, as church members, would see to it that one whom they had sentenced would, if a church member, be dealt with in due course by the congregation of his church.

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[14] P. Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1939), Chap. IV; G. L. Haskins, *Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts* (New York, 1960), Chaps. VII, X.

[15] Haskins, *Law and Authority*, pp. 89, 183–184. In certain directions the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts churches was broader in that they undertook to supervise family life and even business relationships. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[16] *The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts*, ed. M. Farrand (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 15, 53–54. The assignment of testamentary jurisdiction to the temporal courts reflected the Puritan doctrine that ministers of the Word should not intermeddle in the judgment of civil causes and hence also reflected the colonists' dissatisfaction with the English practices in this area. Since marriage was viewed as an ordinary civil contract having no sacerdotal significance, it was natural for the colonists to assign jurisdiction over divorce to the civil courts.

[17] *E.g.*, heresy and lying. *Laws and Liberties*, pp. 24, 35.

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[18] T. Lechford, "Plain Dealing: or Newes from New-England," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd Ser., III (1833), 74.

[19] See J. Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, ed. J. Savage, I (Boston, 1825), 81, for an account of a discussion among "the elders and brethren of the churches of Plimouth, Salem, &c." prompted by questions propounded by the congregation at Boston in 1632: "1. Whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time? 2. If not, then which should be laid down?" Winthrop reports that "The 1st was agreed by all negatively; the 2d doubtfully."

[20] *E.g.*, Winthrop, *History*, I, 316; II, 349 (cases of Robert Keayne and Anne Walker). In 1640 the elders unsuccessfully petitioned the General Court "that the civil magistrate should not proceed against a church member before the church had dealt with him." *Ibid.*, II, 16.

[21] The Worcestershire sessions rolls contain an interesting example of a clerical justice's use of knowledge gained as a spiritual judge in his disposition of a bastardy case in the civil court. In 1628 Francis, Lord Bishop of Hereford, endorsed on an examination of a certain "Midwife and others concerning the birth of a child of *Joan Fido* . . . in her lifetime being convicted before me as Ordinary of the Diocese of Hereford did swear upon the Holy Evangelists that the said Mathew Freeman and none other . . . was the father of the child she then went with." Bund, *Calendar*, I, 454.

[22] *E.g.*, Winthrop, *History*, I, 316; II, 40, 349.

A second illustration of the influence of the English church courts on the Bay Colony is found in the similarity of punishments, notably those involving public humiliation.[23] In Massachusetts, the county courts not infrequently ordered a miscreant publicly to acknowledge his or her offense, usually before the congregation of a church,[24] and public confession also appears to have been regularly prescribed by the elders in the churches.[25] The use of this device is ascribable in part to Puritan insistence on humbling the will as a condition precedent to repentance and reform; but the act books of the English archidiaconal courts reveal how regularly public confession or penance was regularly exacted by those courts in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods.[26] If such penalties were also imposed, although with less frequency, by English justices of the peace,[27] it should not be forgotten how frequently ecclesiastics were serving with laymen on the courts of quarter sessions.

There was also a similarity in the methods employed for dealing with offenders by the spiritual courts in England and by the Massachusetts churches—that is, admonition, rebuke, and excommunication. These typically ecclesiastical weapons are so well-known that their availability hardly requires comment except to point out that in both societies the temporal courts were prepared to back up a sentence of excommunication with civil sanctions. In England, the spiritual courts used excommunication to enforce their decrees, and against an offender who refused to submit as required could be issued the civil writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, which empowered the sheriff to imprison him.[28] Similarly, in Massachusetts, a law prescribed that an excommunicate endeavor to restore himself within six months or be presented to the Court of Assistants and "there proceeded with by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or further."[29] Even more striking was the extensive use of admonition in the Massachusetts courts as a civil punishment. None of the printed quarter sessions records examined indicate the use of the device in English secular courts, and it may therefore be supposed that its employment in the colony was suggested by or derived from English ecclesiastical procedures.[30]

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[23] For references to the English practice, see note 26, below, and Stephen, *History*, II, 412.

[24] *E.g.*, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, ed. G. F. Dow, I (Salem, 1911), 18, 88, 174.

[25] *E.g.*, the case of Captain Keayne, who, after censure by the Boston church for making excessive profits, was forced tearfully to "acknowledge and bewail his covetous and corrupt heart." Winthrop, *History*, I, 316. For further descriptions of the imposition of such penalties, particularly at a later period, see O. E. Winslow, *Meetinghouse Hill* (New York, 1952), Chap. XI; C. F. Adams, "Some Phases of Sexual Morality and Church Discipline in Colonial New England," Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 2nd Ser., VI (1890–91), 477–516.

[26] H. Hall, "Some Elizabethan Penances in the Diocese of Ely," Royal Historical Society, *Transactions*, 3rd Ser., I (1907), 263–277; W. H. Hale, *Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes, 1475–1640* (London, 1847), Index, under "penance" and "public confession."

[27] *E.g.*, *Nottingham County Records*, ed. H. H. Copnall (Nottingham, 1915), p. 45; *Quarter Sessions Records*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, I (London, 1884), 179.

It must be emphasized that, despite the similarity of the weapons employed by the ecclesiastical courts and by the Massachusetts churches, formal procedures of trial and sentence under the two systems were radically different. The Massachusetts colonists not only altered fundamentally the traditional English distribution of parochial powers and responsibilities but did away with the familiar apparitors and sompnours of the ecclesiastical courts and with the churchwardens, swornmen, and "assistants" of the English parish. Their functions were assigned to the congregations of the several churches, and no formal extra-congregational machinery was instituted. The judicial and fact-finding powers of the officials of the spiritual courts devolved in the Massachusetts churches upon the ruling elders, who were solid and influential citizens of unimpeachable orthodoxy. Although the congregation at large sat in judgment upon offenders, and although a sentence when imposed was deemed to be the collective sentence of a church, the congregation was virtually required to consent to the ruling elders' determinations of fact and law.[31] It was the elders who took evidence before formal proceedings were instituted; it was they who convened the church for the quasi-judicial proceedings and compelled attendance by a species of compulsory process; and it was they who had power "to pronounce sentence with consent of the church."[32] Thus, despite basic differences in procedure, the powers of the elders over the moral and doctrinal lapses of their members appear to have approached those exercised by the judicial officers of the English spiritual courts and may well reflect practices familiar to the colonists from their English days.

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[28] Holdsworth, *History*, I, 630–631.

[29] *Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. N. B. Shurtleff, I (Boston, 1853), 242.

[30] For examples, see Haskins, *Law and Authority*, p. 209.

[31] *The Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline* (Boston, 1855), Chap. X, paragraphs 2, 8; Chap. XIV, paragraph 2.

It must, of course, be emphasized that in the colony the underlying premises of church punishment were different, in several respects, from those operative in England, notably in that they reflected the importance that Puritans attached to right living and to upholding their conception of a church. "The censures of the church," declared the Cambridge Platform, "are appointed by Christ for the preventing, removing, and healing of offences in the church; for reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren, for the deterring of others from the like offences."[33] The sin of one was viewed as the sin of all, and the infection of that sin could so taint the whole congregation that it might cease to be a church. However, such doctrines, together with the assumptions underlying the organization of the churches, tend to obscure certain similarities between the English and the Massachusetts systems. Two in particular seem deserving of comment: first, the efforts in both societies to resolve differences and deal with offenses on an informal basis; second, the importance of convincing an offender of his sinfulness.

In England, not only the churchwardens but the incumbent of every parish was required to report suspected and notorious offenders at the periodic visitations of the Church's judicial functionaries, and the act books of those officers abound in presentments of parishioners made by their ministers. Yet responsibility for the parishioners' moral and spiritual conduct was not confined to the elaborate machinery of the bishops and their archdeacons and to the institutionalized processes of parish government. The conscientious parish clergyman of the time of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts was expected to be alert to incipient sinfulness and strife among his flock and to scotch latent wrongdoing before it matured into a patent offense against morality,[34] with the result that pastoral and brotherly correction as a disciplinary technique received special emphasis in the English Church. Episcopal injunctions charged ministers to seek out, in the company of the churchwardens, suspected or notorious offenders and to attempt "by all means to reduce such offender, and to reclaim him if they can. And if they cannot do so, then" to present him to the ecclesiastical court.[35]

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[32] *Ibid.*, Chap. x, paragraphs 8, 9.

[33] *Ibid.*, Chap. xiv, paragraph 1.

[34] See, *e.g.*, "Bishop Overton's Articles for Coventry and Lichfield Diocese," reprinted in W. P. M. Kennedy, *Elizabethan Episcopal Administration*, Alcuin Club, *Collections*, III

The parson's role as a peacemaker, calling men to amity and concord, was also a long-standing tradition and can be traced back into England's Catholic days.[36] In the late sixteenth century many parishes appear also to have utilized swornmen or "jurats" to heal differences among fellow parishioners "by a sort of equitable jurisdiction over 'offences given and taken.' "[37] Quite aside from the authority of episcopal injunctions, the ministers and churchwardens had ample reasons for preferring, when they could, to deal with disputes and offenses at the parish level and to avoid presentment of their neighbors to the spiritual courts. The fees, to say nothing of the fines, exacted by those courts were considerable, and the expense and inconvenience of at-

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(1924), 161, wherein parish ministers are advised, to the end of "cutting off of sin and offences before they grow to full and perfect ripeness," that they "shall do well every Sunday and Holy-day to call the churchwardens and sidemen . . . unto them in the church, and there to confer and advise together . . . what hath fallen out within their parish . . . worthy reformation or presentment, or worthy private admonition for amendment." *Cf.* "The Ordre for the Administracion of the Lordes Supper, or Holy Communion" in the Elizabethan Prayer-Book of 1559, which empowers the parish minister to refuse the sacrament to any "open and notorious euil liuer" or to one who has "done any wrong to hys neighbours by word or dede" until such person has "openly declared him self to haue truely repented, and amended his former naughty lyfe, that the Congregacion may therby be satisfyed, which afore were offended," and has "recompensed the parties, whom he hath done wrong vnto." *The Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1559,* ed. E. Benham (Edinburgh, 1909), p. 92. Virtually every one of the episcopal "Articles" and "Injunctions" of the Elizabethan period contained provisions designed to ensure that the parish clergy carried out their responsibilities with respect to this informal suspension from Holy Communion; see, *e.g.,* Kennedy, *Episcopal Administration,* II, III, *passim.*

[35] Item 3 in "Bishop Barnes's Injunctions for Durham Diocese," reprinted in Kennedy, *Episcopal Administration,* II, 71.

[36] See *Titulus* 15 of the canons collected by William Lyndwood in the early fifteenth century, wherein parsons, vicars, and curates are enjoined to "have peace with all men (as much as in them is) and . . . monish their parishioners to be, through the unity of faith and the bond of peace, one body in Christ." Parish priests were to "cease diligently and make quiet the displeasures if any spring in their parishes, calling them in amity and concord that be at variance, not suffering (as much as in them lieth) the sun to go down upon the anger of their parishioners." *Lyndwood's Provinciale,* ed. J. V. Bullard and H. C. Bell (London, 1929), p. 28.

[37] J. Toulmin Smith, *The Parish* (London, 1857), p. 229.

tending their sessions were further sources of irritation and resentment.[38] Many a parson, therefore, must have recognized the hardships involved in invoking upon every minor offender the sanctions of the church courts. Parish churchwardens were even more reluctant to inform upon and present their neighbors, as we know from a statement of "Common Greuances Groaninge for Reformation" drafted in 1623/24 by a group of Puritans that included John Winthrop.[39] Consequently, even in the absence of records, it does not seem too conjectural to state that admonition and exhortation were ordinarily and frequently employed as procedures looking toward informal, local resolution and settlement of differences and offenses.

That such procedures were widely employed in the early Massachusetts churches is well-known.[40] Brotherly correction and admonition lay at the heart of the practice of "holy watching" enjoined by Puritan doctrine and explicitly set forth in church covenants, whereby the faithful were bound to watch over the souls of their brethren in order to promote spiritual and moral welfare and to prevent scandalous persons from defiling holy things. "[I]t is better," recites the Cambridge Platform, "to prevent a scandal that it may not come, and easier also, than to remove it when it is given."[41] Informal, parochial proceedings as employed in England comported with the Puritan emphasis upon congregational discipline and would incline Puritan clergymen, who had special reasons for detesting the ecclesiastical courts, toward liberal use of correction and reconciliation before formal proceedings within the church were instituted.

Closely connected with the use of brotherly correction in the Massachusetts churches was the Puritan insistence that an offender be made to see "cleerly" and "convictingly" the error of his ways.[42] Although this principle has been viewed as stemming from Puritan concern for the reformation of the individual, it, too, had antecedents not only in the English but in the Roman Church as well. Even the procedures of the Spanish Inquisition, as Lea reminds us, were intended "to bring the sinner to repentance, or at least to confession. . . . On his way to the stake, a man who had persistently denied his guilt was accompanied by confessors urging him to admit it and to repent."[43] The English Church went further in its concern for the individual. Implicit in the use of the informal parochial proceedings which have been referred to was the idea of "reclaiming" an offender when possible and securing his repentance rather than presenting him in the ecclesiastical court.[44] Bishop Overton, in 1584, had enjoined ministers to confer about matters within the parish that were "worthy reformation. . . . or worthy private admonition for amendment,"[45] to the end that sin and offenses should be cut off "before they grow to full and perfect ripeness."[46] In Massachusetts, the colonists' characteristically Puritan concern for the individual carried these ideas much further, not only in the churches but in the development of the colony's criminal law in the courts. Several criminal statutes emphasized the importance of "due conviction," and there are numerous instances in which the civil magistrates sought to obtain submission and acknowledgment before sentence was imposed.[47] In their emphasis on convincing an offender of the sinfulness of his act and the justice of the punishment, the civil magistrates "directed the criminal law of the colony away from traditional concepts of retribution . . . toward practices which emphasized moral persuasion in order to reform the offender."[48] One who recognized the justice of a prescribed penalty, and at the same time was afforded a "true sight" of his particular sin, frequently had his punishment mitigated or even dispensed with entirely.[49]

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[38] E.g., the case of John Johnson, summarized in S. L. Ware, *The Elizabethan Parish in its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 53*n*. Johnson was cleared of the charge of adultery, but only after repeated appearances before the official's court of Durham extending over a period of more than a year and payment, under pain of excommunication, of fees amounting to £1 3*s*. 4*d*.

[39] *Winthrop Papers*, I ([Boston], 1929), 306.

[40] *Cambridge Platform*, Chap. XIV.

[41] *Ibid.*, Chap. XI, paragraph 4.

[42] *Cf.* T. Hooker, "A True Sight of Sin," reprinted in P. Miller and T. H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York, 1938), pp. 292–301.

It remains to emphasize that despite the influence in Massachusetts of English ecclesiastical precedents, many of them were rejected or consciously reworked into new patterns. This is notably true with respect to the church-state relationship. One of the striking features of the early history of the colony is the constant insistence of its leaders upon separation of church and state. Today the principle of separation has come to mean that there shall be no influence upon civil institutions by ecclesiastical bodies or upon religious affairs by civil government. The Massachusetts Puritans, however, were primarily concerned with a *functional* separation of the two jurisdictions, and that separation was regarded not as an end in itself but as a means of ensuring a relationship whereby, in the words of the Epistle to the Code of 1648, "*each do help and strengthen* [the] *other (the Churches the civil Authoritie, and the civil Authoritie the Churches).*"[50] Insisting upon a strict separation of function with an eye to attainment of a common end, the colonists rejected the English idea that the offices of minister and magistrate might be combined in the same person, and they also refused to permit one person to serve both as a civil magistrate and as a ruling elder.[51]

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[43] H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, II (New York, 1906), 570.

[44] See notes 34–37, above.

[45] Note 34, above.

[46] Note 34, above.

[47] Haskins, *Law and Authority*, pp. 207–208.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 207 and authorities there cited.

Yet, despite the functional separation, there are many examples in the colony's early history of what can properly be regarded as civil intermeddling with religious matters, of which the most famous is the course pursued by the civil authorities during the Antinomian controversy. In England, a minister sitting as a justice of the peace could, and apparently often did, mediate or authoritatively determine inter- and intra-parochial disputes by the use of his civil powers.[52] Similar results were achieved in Massachusetts without a "confounding"—at least in Puritan terms—of the secular and spiritual functions. Thus, in 1640, the church at Dorchester, hopelessly split between two rival factions over a matter of internal discipline, called upon the other churches for help. In response, a meeting was held at Dorchester, attended by Thomas Dudley, John Winthrop, "and about ten of the elders of the neighbouring churches, wherein four days were spent in opening the cause, and such offences as had fallen out in the prosecution; and in conclusion the magistrates and elders declared their judgment and advice in the case" with such success that "God was much glorified in the close thereof."[53] Again, the "whereas" clause of a warrant signed by Vane, Winthrop, and Dudley and sent to the constable at Salem in 1636 succinctly summarizes the basis of the civil magistrates' assumption of jurisdiction in church affairs:

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[50] *Laws and Liberties*, Epistle.

[51] See notes 10 and 19, above.

[52] John Charlett, Vicar of Cropthorne in Worcestershire, affords a good example of what a clerical justice could do in this regard. See Bund, *Calendar*, I, 541 (public satisfaction for slander); 619 ("*concordatur inter partes*"); 626 ("The parties are reconciled and the fee is paid"); 630 (recognizance executed by a man and his wife "for their keeping the peace towards the parishioners of *Feckenham*").

> Whereas we are credibly informed, that divers persons, (both men and women,) within your town, do disorderly assemble themselves both upon the Lord's day and at other times, and contemptuously refusing to come to the solemn meetings of the church there, (or being some of them justly cast out,) do obstinately refuse to submit themselves . . . but do make conventions and seduce divers persons of weak capacity, and have already withdrawn some of them from the church, *and thereby have caused much (not only disturbance in the church, but also) disorder and damage in the civil state, so as if they be suffered to go on, your town is like to be deserted of many of the chief and most useful members, to the great dishonour of God.*[54]

The same apparent belief in the necessity of justifying civil concern with spiritual disputes and offenses in terms of their potential effect upon civil peace is shown in the colony's legislation: Anabaptists were punishable in the civil courts because "*experience hath plentifully & often proved that since the*[ir] *first arising . . . they have been the Incendiaries of Common-wealths & the Infectors of persons in main matters of Religion*";[55] civil punishment for "*contempt of Gods word and Messengers thereof*" was justified in that it "*is the desolating sinne of civil States and Churches*";[56] civil sanctions for lying were proper since "*all lying is contrary to truth, and some sorts of lyes are not only sinfull (as all lyes are) but also pernicious to the Publick-weal, and injurious to particular persons.*"[57]

The ministers and elders of the Massachusetts churches, acting, in their terms, entirely within their own proper and separate sphere, nevertheless exerted fully as much influence in civil matters as the magistrates wielded in ecclesiastical affairs, and the converging spiritual and civil sanctions were inflicted no less surely despite the scrupulous separation of the functions of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Winthrop notes, for instance, that the wife of Richard Walker,

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[53] Winthrop, *History*, II, 23.

[54] *Ibid.*, II, 343, emphasis supplied.

[55] *Laws and Liberties*, p. 1 ("Ana-Baptists").

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 19 ("Ecclesiasticall").

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 35 ("Lying").

"being cast out of the church of Boston for intemperate drinking from one inn to another and for light and wanton behaviour, was the next day called before the governour and the treasurer, and convict by two witnesses upon oath of the same misdemeanour, and was stripped naked one shoulder, and tied to the whipping post."[58]

In legislation, the clergy's participation was indirect, in accordance with Puritan theory, but their influence in this area was nevertheless substantial, as is demonstrated by the central importance of John Cotton's "Moses his Judicials" in the codification of the colony's laws.[59] Their advice on legislative matters was also sometimes sought, or furnished unbidden, with respect to specific enactments. When the Assistants drafted a bill in 1644 for banishing Anabaptists, it was first "sent to the elders, who approved of it with some mitigations," whereupon the magistrates voted it and sent it to the Deputies, who completed the enacting process.[60] In the following year, when the General Court was considering a petition for suspension of the Anabaptist statutes, a number of the elders "entreated that the law might continue still in force, and the execution of it not suspended, though they disliked not that all lenity and patience should be used for convincing and reclaiming such erroneous persons. Whereupon the court refused to make any farther order about the petition."[61]

The elders were perhaps most active in civil affairs as advisers in judicial matters. The numerous instances in which the magistrates and deputies sought advisory opinions of the elders on matters of criminal and constitutional law are so well-known that they need only be mentioned. Not infrequently, however, the advice of the elders respecting specific cases was asked and given in open court. In 1641 there "fell out a case between Mr. Dudley . . . and Mr. Howe, a ruling elder of the church of Watertown, about a title to a mill."[62] Winthrop recounts that "the elders, being desired to be present at the hearing of the case, they also consented with the judgment of the court, before the case was put to vote, and some of them humbly advised the court that it would be greatly to their dishonour, and an apparent injustice, if they should otherwise determine."[63] At another General Court, the blunt-spoken Thomas Dudley sourly demanded of Ezekiel Rogers, minister at Ipswich, "Do you think to come with your eldership here to carry matters[?]"[64] Yet, on the same page, Winthrop is at pains to praise the "wisdom and faithfulness of the elders" in causing Richard Saltonstall to see his error in publishing a book attacking the standing council, and he records that "the elders agreed to deal with the deputies of their several towns, to the end that" *Sherman v. Keayne*, the case of the missing sow, "might never trouble the court more."[65]

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[58] Winthrop, *History*, II, 349.

[59] Haskins, *Law and Authority*, Chap. VIII.

[60] Winthrop, *History*, II, 174.

[61] *Ibid.*, II, 251.

[62] *Ibid.*, II, 50.

A basic assumption of the Congregationalist Puritans which set them off most clearly from their Anglican brothers was their insistence that in a properly ordered society the civil and ecclesiastical bodies were not coterminous. This assumption resulted in a commonwealth of which something like two-thirds of the inhabitants were excluded from church membership and produced a situation which raised serious jurisdictional problems. It would not have occurred to the colonists, who were always sticklers for their own variety of due process, to try to extend church sanctions to non-members; indeed, such a course would have run counter to the very basis of their conception of a church. At the same time, it was clear that "spiritual" offenses committed by non-members were no less deserving of punishment than identical offenses committed by members. To suggest that the colonists' expansion of civil jurisdiction to embrace such offenses is explicable merely in terms of the jurisdictional problem would ignore a host of other considerations. Yet the fact that their civil courts dealt with offenses which in England were within the sphere of the spiritual courts and regularly prescribed typically ecclesiastical punishments is a vivid illustration of the constant interplay between tradition and design in the development of early Massachusetts law.

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[63] *Ibid.*, II, 50–51.

[64] *Ibid.*, II, 116 ("Mr. Dudley was somewhat hard at first to be brought to see any evil in it, but at last he was convinced and did acknowledge it, and they were reconciled.").

[65] *Ibid.*, II, 116.

# Some Correspondence of John Winthrop, Jr., and Samuel Hartlib

Edited by G. H. Turnbull*

Among the papers of Samuel Hartlib, Sr.,[1] which came to light in 1933 and which their owner, Lord Delamere, kindly permitted me to examine, I found four letters from John Winthrop, Jr., to Hartlib and one from Hartlib to Winthrop. Winthrop's letters are originals and in his own hand; Hartlib's is a copy written by himself. So far as I am aware, these letters have never been printed, but they seem sufficiently interesting to merit publication.

Winthrop's letters of December 16, 1659, and October 25, 1660, contain proof of his having met with Hartlib and Comenius[2] and supply evidence by which the dates of these meetings may be determined. The fixing of these dates affects, though it does not decide, the question of Winthrop's offer to Comenius (recorded in Mather's *Magnalia*) of the presidency of Harvard College.[3] I have discussed these matters in my *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (Liverpool, 1947), which also contains much information about other matters and other persons referred to in the five letters that follow.

### JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO SAMUEL HARTLIB

*To the right worshipfull Samuel Hartlib Esqr. neere*
*Charing Crosse or elsewhere In London*

Honored Sir, It was no small refresshing to me to heare by my honored and reverend friend mr. John Davenport[4] that you are yet residing in London. I had once the happinesse to be acquainted with you when I was last in England since which tyme being about the beginning of the first Parliament I have lived in these remote westerne parts of the world in New-England; so as I cannot expect that you can have any remembrance of my name *or person*. This possibly may bring some little hint or notion to your thought, which I am now adding, that you were pleased to favour me with Johannes Agricola his workes (in high Duch[5]) oute of your owne library, which I must againe thankfully acknowledge as a very great favour, having beene deprived of them and many other bookes which I much prised and had furnished myselfe with at Hamborough; but comming thence lost all by the Dunkirkes,[6] and amongst them a manuscript of Sir Thomas Norton De motu perpetuo; which was of his owne hand writing it was in Latine, and had beene formerly in the possession of famous Dr. Dee. I was at Dunkirke to inquire after it and other bookes but could not recover any but one manuscript of mine owne: possibly further inquiry might attaine it. I had not then much tyme.

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* This paper by Mr. Turnbull, emeritus professor of education, University of Sheffield, was read by title at the March, 1946, meeting.

[1] Samuel Hartlib (d. 1662), whom Winthrop once described—Winthrop MSS (Massachusetts Historical Society), v, 27—as "the great Intelligencer of Europe," was well known in his day as a publisher of pamphlets on husbandry and education. His correspondence with Winthrop apparently ceased after letters to him—printed in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1st Ser., XVI (1878), 212–214, 215–216—of Sept. 3 and Oct. 9, 1661.

[2] Johann Amos Comenius (1592–1670), the famous Czech writer on education.

[3] See Albert Matthews, "Comenius and Harvard College," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, XXI (1919), 146–190.

[4] Rev. John Davenport, pastor of the New Haven church.

The fame of your Publique spirit and worthy unweried indeavours for the publique good urgeth me to adde my part of that thankes which the whole world oweth you: yet it hath not beene my happinesse to have the sight of many exellent peices which I heare are come forth by your selfe or by your favorable aspect and incouragement of learned and ingenious men and inventions exellent and usefull, but (ex ungue leonem) mr. Davenport hath favoured me with the sight of two or 3: viz chimicall medicinall and chyrurgicall addresses,[7] and a discovery about setting out of land and at the end of that about a new way for a banke.[8] More he tells me of that he hath, and desires I might see them, which makes me hope, the next oportunity of letters, I may obtaine the perusall of some of them, when the wether is a little fitter for travaile through the wood, which is now newly stopped up by a snow: though but about 40 miles betwixt us: one speciall invention I heare of is amongst the rest about the ordering those admirable creatures the Bees,[9] which puts me in mind of the manner of their keeping of bees in some villages in Grecia a little from Constantinople in those thick woods, or Forrests of Thracia, where I have seen a yard hedged in, and of a good bignesse filled with beehives standing upon the very ground only a flat stone or board under them, and as thick together as the hopphills in an hop yard, and so many of them that I could not conceive any possible meanes to attend and preserve them by way of swarming: but wanting a good interpreter I could not understand of those poore Thracians the way of their ordering them. But this I mention that you may please to consider whether there may be any thing learnd from thence by meanes of the merchants in Constantinople for any further perfecting the manner of ordering those profitable creatures: but possibly that booke which mr. Davenport hath may satisfy with better waies: that which I could conceive of those was that they must needs hive themselves, when they swarmed, in empty hives there fitted on purpose.

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[5] See John Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica: A Catalogue of the Alchemical, Chemical and Pharmaceutical Books in the Collection of the late James Young of Kelly and Durris*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1906), I, 11–12. Hereafter Ferguson.

[6] The loss of his chest containing books and other belongings. *Winthrop Papers*, 5 vols. ([Boston], 1929– ), IV, 356, 362–363.

[7] *Chymical, Medicinal, and Chyrurgical Addresses: Made to Samuel Hartlib, Esquire* (London, 1655).

[8] Cressy Dymock, *A Discoverie for Division or Setting Out of Land, as to the Best Form* (London, 1653). Hartlib published this book, of which Winthrop's copy is now in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The full title shows that the work includes *An Essay to Shew How All Lands May Be Improved in a New Way, To Become the Ground of the Increase of Trading and Revenue to This Common-wealth*, which was also published separately as *An Essay upon Master W. Potter's Designe: Concerning a Bank of Lands.*

I have so newly received those treatises above mentioned that I could not fully yet peruse them; but one thing that mr. Gabriell Platt[10] in one of those little treatises brands Sir Edward Kelly with as the grand impostor of the world I cannot but take notice of, and inform your selfe (to whom I perceive mr. Plat hath addressed that relation, as per the title of the booke appeares.) that I can give many very probable reasons to evince that Sir Edward Kellyes projections were not cousening projections but reall; but the oportunity I now have of convaiance of these to the port where they must find passage being so suddaine, that it permitts me not to write much about that case but may possibly satisfy you by some other opertunity therein. I shall only mention one particular which I had from one who was very intimate with Rodolphus the Emperour[11] who had it from the Emperours owne mouth. That the said Rodolphus with his owne hands and all materialls and instruments for fusion provided by his apointment (Inscio Kelleo) transmuted nine pounds of quicksilver into pure gold with so little of the powder taken upon the point of his knife with his owne the Emperours hand out of a paper opened by Sir Edward Kelly at the further end of the roome, he the said Kelly not coming neere the place where the fire was. But Sir I shall trouble too long in thus exeeding the limits of a letter which I had intended only to let you know how much I honour your noble, and indefatigable spirit in your studious promoting the generall good of all; and am bold with you further (knowing your generall acquaintance and corespondence with severall places.) to desire in your next letter to mr. Davenport that you will please to insert an answer to the queries in the inclosed paper and shall not further add but all due respects, and my desires to the God of wisdom to prosper your further endeavours to the publique welfare and rest Your humble servant

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[9] *The Reformed Common-Wealth of Bees. Presented in Severall Letters and Observations (by various Persons) to Samuel Hartlib Esq. with the Reformed Virginian Silk-Worm* (London, 1655).

[10] Probably Gabriel Plattes, "Caveat for Alchymists," in *Chymical . . . Addresses*. Plattes bequeathed his MSS to his friend Hartlib.

JOHN WINTHROP

HARTFORD IN NEW-ENGLAND Dec: 16, 1659

Whether mr. Plat did make any demonstration (as he mentions in that treatise) before the parliament, of the possibility of the lapis: and whether he be yet living and wher and what other you please concerning him (I once had some acquaintance with him).

Whether that learned mr. Comenius be yett living and where; and what remarkable from him etc. I mett him once: and saw a copy of a letter of his at Wedell with mr. Ristius Pastor there wherein he mentioned that he had found out the motum perpetuum.

Whether mr. Glauber be yet living and if so where. I was acquainted with him at Amsterdam many yeares since, by mr. Morians friendship:[12] and what you please about his liquor Alkahest. I meane nott the description of the secret it selfe (if you know it) but whether any have really such a secret as he and Helmont described it.

Whether mr. Morian be living yet. He that I was acquainted with was an old man then in Amsterdam had beene a minister in Germany formerly.

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[11] For alchemist Edward Kelley (1555–1595) and Emperor Rudolph II (1552–1612) see Ferguson, I, 453–455.

[12] Johann Morian was one of a group of Dutch and German chemists who assembled in Amsterdam during the Thirty Years' War. Before 1633 he had been a minister.

Where Sir Kenelme Digby is. The last letter I had from him was from paris 3 yeares since[13] and have written to him since and cannot heare of him. I cannot believe a report here that he should be in Roome.

Whether there be any reall vestigia magni elixeris eyther quoad sanitatem or transmutationem knowne to your selfe or in any parts of Europe:

Whether those Medicinall and Chirurgicall Balsams mentioned in those treatises he writes of them may not be fit to be obtained for the use of these remote parts.

Whether any reall invention be knowne for the dissolving or breaking the stone.

What more perfection added to the Telescopium since Drebles and Galileus and what new descoveries in the celestiall bodies: whether any new about the motum perpetuum.

I am full of more quæries but I pray excuse me thus farr, for we are heere as men dead to the world in this wildernesse.

[*Endorsed by Hartlib:*] R[eceived] March 8, 1660.

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### SAMUEL HARTLIB TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

*For the truly honourable his very worthy friend John Winthrop Esqr.*
*at Hartford in N.E.*

Much honoured Sir, I can assure you I have a great remembrance of your name though our acquaintance was but very small. Yea I was fully resolved to have surprised you with a letter this spring, having understood by our reverend and most pretious friend Mr. Davenport, that you were yett alive in New Engl. and from others how you were so nobly usefull to your generation in that famous plantation. My heart therefore did burn within me in true and sincere respects to be more throughly known unto you which I perswaded my self might easily be don by means of our foresaid most honoured and dearest friend. But I see you have prevented me according to the goodness of that divine patterne Ipse dilexit prior—which the more ardently and willingly I shall endeavour to entertain in the face of Jesus christ, being supported and assisted by his grace and blessed spirit in the middest of very many trialls and horrid pains arising from the stone in the bladder, wherewith I have been afflicted near these 4 years, most of which time I have been confined to my house. I have sent you a very big packquet or box covered with marble paper to Mr. Davenport with an other packet in that box unto himself, no ways doubting it will come safely to your hands. As soon as it is arrived I beseech you favour me with the notice of it, there being a great number of books and Mss. which perhaps will not be unwellcome, some of them treating of matters of the highest importance. I was forced to huddle them up so that I could not take an exact catalogue of them. And therefore that I may know what I have allready sent and communicated lett it not seeme boldness or too much trouble if I beg a note of them both of the books and of the papers. I might have also sealed up that which is directed to you in the box, but I thought it needless because of that intire friendship and suitableness of spirit to favour all publick good both in religion learning and industry which is so eminently between you both. I am confident if you shall have a desire to see the severall overtures and actings for the great things of Gods Kingdom and the benefit of mankind it will be as readily imparted unto you. But a word or two to the particulars of your most wellcome letter dated Decemb. 16, –59 which I received this last march 8. I am very sorry to heare of the losse of your books when they were comming from Hamburg. I wish for a catalogue of them if you have kept or preserved any, and of the other books in your library that I might send you a catalogue of them which have come forth since you have lived in new england. For I suppose I should be able to prevail with my friends and correspondents in severall countryes to lett me know the best and most choycest of them and to procure also if you should desire to have them, those that are not vulgar but rather secret. For it seems the time is comming on apace that the great naturall truths will not be so obscure as they have been in former ages. Sir Tho. Nortons Mss. de M[otu] P[erpetuo] would have been worth the seeking. I have sent you amongst the papers in the box what is undertaken and performed beyond seas in this great work. But there is something amongst my friends here in Engl. (whom I have and doe encourage) that seems in this P. M. to goe beyond all that ever hath been undertaken or performed by any mortalls as to many yea all great uses in humane life. They are so various and in a manner so prodigious that I should seeme not to speake words of truth and soberness if I should descent to particulars. But the inventors (Potter and Mercator, one an Englishman, the other a german) are yett known to very few, but their tryalls goe on very successfully and better and better every day. I hope within few dayes the work will be in real going and I shall not fail God willing to give you a perfect account of their success, not sparing them in case of all these many experiments they should yett come to faile, as Mr. Comen[ius] in his P. M. after 15 years hopes; If there were any possibility, there should be no want of inquiry at Dunkirk, whether the forenamed Mss. of yours might be gained; Dunkirk being still in english hands and I shall improve the interest which some of my friends have in the present governour (Lockhard[14] a very ingenious man) of that town. But if Potters P. M. doth succeed (of which there is not yett the least suspicion of it to the contrary) we shall have no great cause to griefe for the loss of any Mss. I have sent you a copy of most of all those books which I have sent also to worthy Mr. Davenport. Alas they are but very poor things and essays of severall matters. But if the Lord should yett spare my health and life some more elaborate matters might follow. I shall carefully listen after the Constantinopolitan keeping of Bees and something more I have imparted unto you in the packet concerning those pretty creatures, and I have some more observations which shall be transcribed.

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[13] Jan. 26, 1656, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, 3rd Ser., x (1849), 15–18.

Sir Edward Kelly is better known to many other judicious men, what he hath performed then Gabr. Plat. I have sent you a copy of a true relation concerning the famous Buttler[15] written unto me by a most incomparable lady (Viscountess Ranalaugh) of an Irish extraction. Dr. Kuffler confirms your judgment about the truth in Kelly; He presents his service to you, hearing that you had written to me, by the letter here inclosed.[16] He hath many excellent and usefull inventions which I cannot yett obtaine that the publick should take notice of them. Only I sped in one towards the late Lord Pro[tecto]r (Oliver) which was to destroy ships in a moment which the Dr. made good near

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[14] Sir William Lockhart (1621–1676).

[15] Perhaps the eccentric William Butler (1535–1618).

[16] Johann Sibert Küffeler (1595–1677). His letter to Winthrop of March 16, 1660/61, is in the Winthrop MSS, xiv, 107.

Deptford, to the great astonishment of all beholders;[17] His highness was wonderfully affected with it, and would have done some great matters for him, but he soon dyed after. I shall send you God permitting the propositions and uses of all his undertakings by the next occasion. Now a word to every query of yours. Platts never made any demonstration before the Parliament of the possibility of the Lapis for ought I know. In his latter years I maintained him from week to week. But comming once from his lodging at Westm[inster] to my house then in Dukes place being come to Charing Crosse he fell down and dyed suddenly, having not so much as a shirt about his body; I have a Mss of his about experiments of husbandry, which though it be near of 40 sheets or more, yett there is little of new solid knowledge; yett such as it is I have profered the same to divers stationers, yett all of them have counted the manuscripts not worth printing. Of Mr. Comenius I have written and communicated fully to our often mentioned religious friend and in this last packet to him I have sent more score of his didacticall and other books; they are likewise translated into English, but till a new edition of them (which is comming forth) be extant I differed the sending of them. He hath likewise written last year a tract of one or 2 sheets called Cartesius cum sua naturali Philosophia Mechanicis eversus, 1659. There is no name to it, but Comenius I know is certainly the author of it; by the next I shall endeavour to send it; he refers himself mainly to a most excellent Artist and a very honest man Keus[18] by profession a clockmaker at Amsterdam. His excellency lyes in making of severall opticall Tubes Microscopes and a rare opticall Lanthorne which I exspect every weeke from Amsterd[am]. When I have seen what it really performs for enlightening whole streetes, galleries or any other roomes as well in breadth as in lenght, I hope I shall be mindfull of giving you a fuller account of it, for it hath been one of my owne usefull desideratas finding in winter time a dimness and darkness in the streetes of London, Galleries of Whitehall, in the publick meeting-houses and other congregations etc. notwithstanding the many lanthorns and great number of candles.

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[17] According to a document in the Hartlib MSS, this demonstration took place on Aug. 4, 1658. In his letter above to Winthrop, Küffeler said that Cromwell for £10,000 sterling contracted with him for "fireworcks." Pepys noted in his diary on March 14, 1661/62 that "In the afternoon came the German Dr. Kuffler to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us, that when he come to tell the King his secret (for none but the Kings, successively, and their heirs must know it), it will appear to be of no danger at all." *Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys,* ed. Mynors Bright, 10 vols. (New York, 1885), II, 299.

[18] Stephanus Keus, one of whose machines Comenius claimed, in the work Hartlib mentions, contradicted the basic propositions of Cartesian physics. See Johann Kvačala, *J. A. Comenius* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 412–413. Letters in the Hartlib MSS show that some of Keus's lanterns which Hartlib had ordered were ready for transshipment over 1659–1660 but had not left Amsterdam by Feb. 13, 1660, their ship being icebound.

Of Glauber I intend in my next to give you a fuller account. He is again at amsterdam, having erected there a very great and stately Laboratory, pretending to give demonstrative experiments of all whatever he has asserted in any of his written or printed books of which there are very many which I believe you have not seen.

Honest Mr. Morian is still alive not far from Arnheim, having erected a new dying of colours in grain whereby he maintains himself and hopes to prosper in time to be able to serve the good of many, for he is a man of a lovely spirit and a true nathaniel in the main. In the next packet I shall strive to give you some copies of his letters. I know he will much rejoyce to heare that you have enquired after him. He is taxed for nothing so much as with the generall fault of all honest men too much charity or overmuch credulity.

But our German adepti with whom I shall be better acquainted ere long, count no better of Glauber then a mountebank, one that continues to cheat all sorts of people by his specious artifices and one that knows nothing in the true Philos. work Alkahest Elixir. There are some who are resolved to take him into task, to discover the errour and falshood of his philosophy and experimentall knowledges and his willfull cheates and cousenages. I have suggested that some would also note whatever was true and good in all his writings. One of his Antaginest is held to be a true adeptus printing a book against him[19] at Hamburg which within a few months will be ready. I pray lett me know whether you have not forgotten your high dutch at least as to understand printed books; I have sent you in the packet some of them, but I have a minde as soon as I be able, to send you many more; I hope you will bear with me if I tell you that some are related unto me, that have really such a secret as Helmont hath described under the name of liquor Alkahest. I beseech you be free with me Dear Sir and lett me know what kinde of talents the Lord hath entrusted you withall, which though they must by no means be made common yett all gifts being given to profitt withall doe not hide the generall knowledge from a poor servant of christ, who hath found grace in his eyes to be faithfull. You cannot believe what secret reports I have heard of you of which I would be so willingly informed onely of the generall truth and reality both of the medecin and the tincture and that not onely I may hereafter the more freely provoke you to love and good works (for most of the adepti that I have heard of have been inepti ad omne opus bonum) but also that I may be instrumentall either to perfect your approximations, or to perfect yett more your perfect works. For some of my friends which are sayd (and that not without good ground) to be true Adepti make a difference between the most universall work which is the greatest mystery so highly cryed up by the ancient sophi and the severall metallick tinctures which though they be a universall tincture also yett in respect of that other universalissimum are but counted a particular lapis according to their axiom —quodlibet Metallum dat lapidem—which distinction being observed all philosophicall writers may easily be understood or reconciled. I could write much more, but the method of communication must first be better chalked out between us. For my part I shall not desire what shall be exchanged between me or more of my secret friends and your self; for I am totally for improving of that knowledge, rather then I [am] of the knowledge it self so that all the purposes of Gods glory may be served in all the churches and through out the whole race of mankind; if you give way to this reciprocation more shall be discovered; yett before I leave this subject, give me leave I pray to acquaint you with some dissenting opinions amongst our secret philosophers wherein I am mainly concerned. For some of my adepti according to Helmont say that a confirmed stone in the bladder (which seems to be my case) cannot be cured by the philos. stone; others say the same excepting the lapis ex Saturno and that other universalissimum which hath and can dissolve them; I would willingly know your opinion of it. Ludus Helmontii[20] hath been used by me but I have spent it all but am promised to have more and farr better made. I now use dayly a medecin which is very neare that which is in the papers of the packet called sal contra calliculum vesicæ. Thoeld.[21] (The words amici mei nota were written to it by the hands of an adeptus) but the ℞ of the Medecin which I use I have not yett learned; onely am able to testifie that these two Medecins by the blessing of God have don mee most good. I am full of horrid and continuall pains, but the physitians tell me that they apprehend the stone is dissolving apace. I have recourse to your bowells to impart it by the next occasion, if you have any soveraign matter either to cure or to ease me. If the covenant mercies of our gracious God did not wonderfully sustain me it were not possible to continue thus as I doe from day to day. By the foregoing lines you see what I can answer to that querie of yours whether any reall invention be known for the dissolving and breaking of the stone? Of the Medecinall and Chyrurgicall Balsams I could never obtain the communication. But so many potts and glasses full were left at my house; but no creature comming to ask for them, they were sent back into the place from whence they came. I believe my son in law a great Helmontian (Frederick Clodius by name) hath as good if not better Chyrurgicall Medecins. He cures perfectly the cancer and Kings evill. Sir Kenelme Digby hath been up and down in Germany for the liquor Alkahest the great elixir. He is now returned to Paris where he is for the present. My correspondent from Paris writtes unto me as followeth; wee were with the generous knight[22] (meaning Sir Kenel. D. but found him just stepping in his coach for to visit a person of quality as he sayd whence wee were hindred at that time to converse with him, who was pleased to come next day to our lodging, to see us but to our great trouble) found us not at home so that I can give you no account at all of his voyage into Germany and the experience he hath had of that country onely I heare by a third person that hath discoursed with him that there is an Italian gentleman called Burrus[23] not many months agoe said to be arrived at Strasburg necessitated to retire thither from Rome for having spoken too freely of the Popes æquality with other bishops; which person the Knight extolleth highly for his profound knowledge in Chymestry, and rare happiness in curing all manner of desperat diseases; About which I intend God willing to learn Sir K. D. owne relation at our first meeting. The letter is dated febr. 28, 1660. Concerning advancement of opticall learning I have sent you some extracts and copies of letters in the oft mentioned packet. If you have not seen the heavenly work of Sælenographia Hevelii the great astronomicall gentleman now senator or burgom[aster] of Dantz[ig] (the like hath never been extant being a thick book in folio) I pray take speciall notice of it. There is also an other last year come forth called Christ. Hugenii[24] systema saturnium sive de causis mirandor[um] saturni Phænomenôn[25] et de comite eius Planeta novo Hagæ Comitis 1659 in quarto 12 sheets. If you please to propose never so many queries more, it is like I may be able to give you satisfaction. You cannot believe by how many fitts of my disease I have been interrupted in scribling these answers; but thus the Lords goodness is supporting a weak tormented and otherwise forsaken creature when he sincerely desires to appear in the exercise of that grace which worketh by love. And though my body be almost quite spent yett my affections are as strong and vigorous as ever to answer your last capitall querie with some addition of no small importance. You are pleased to querie whether there be any reall vestigia magni elixiris either quoad sanitatem (so I read your hand) or transmutationem known to yourself or in any part of Europe? I have in part answered allready with an upright heart desiring also to know whether there be such a reall work itself or onely an approximation elsewhere that I may be instrumentall by the will of God to bring old and new england closer together for the perfecting and improving of so great a talent, for the glory of the manifold goodness of God; but I am enabled by a sweet secret providence to tell further (which I must adjure you to keep only most secret between yourself and that excellent holy and devout soul from whom you are to receive these) that such a society[26] is discovered that is and will be (which I count far more), not onely a true possessor, but a reall dispenser of these Mysteries for the ends for which God hath as stewards entrusted them withall. They are come from beyond seas into England and are still in those parts though most secret and hidden. They had putt out a declaration or invitation to their society before this time but the extreamest dissettle-

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[19] Ferguson, I, 329, 349–350, 369, mentions books against Glauber written about this time.

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[20] See *The Diary and Correspondence of John Worthington*, ed. James Crossley, 2 vols. in 3 ([Manchester], 1847–86), II, 91, *n.* 1.

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[21] Johann Thoelde, whose *Haliographia* was published in 1603; see Ferguson, II, 445.

[22] "kninght" in MS.

[23] On Francis Joseph Burrhus see my *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius*, p. 22.

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[24] Christian Huygens.

[25] "Phraenomenon" in MS.

[26] Called "Macaria" by Hartlib in letters to Worthington about this time. See Worthington, *Diary and Correspondence*, I, 163.

ment hath differred their resolutions. They are scattered over the world, but are minded in England for they say according to Postellus[27] —ab insulis incipiet reformatio to make themselves visible to other mens observations and applications as soon as there is quietness under any form of government. The great Magnalia they will never owne professedly but a number of other severall means of enriching a society will be held forth, and which really allso will bring in great treasures and revenues yearly. Here I entrust you with the Idea[28] of some of their contrivances; all this out of singular love and great faithfullness into your bosome. You may please to reade and compare this Idea with an other generall discourse which I have confided to our religious friend. It is worth your best perusall and consideration. I pray you both to lett me know your judgments upon these draughts. The other draught is called restaurationis universalis cyns. et Am.[29] I intreat you again and again to keep all these secret till I have gotten leave to give you leave to spread them for a more common benefitt. In the mean time what you approove or disapprove deal freely with me that they may be taken into consideration. There is an other vast design for the promotion of which I have spent some years, but hope not to grow weary in it till the Lord hath lett mee see according to his promise the travells of my soule in this particular also. It is in a word the setting up of Bancos of Lands and commodities; and though the Publique hath not been at leasure hitherto to accept of it (which will really make good all those benefitts which a paper[30] in the packet doth enumerat another paper laying down the design it self though not in all his fullness and extinct) it is the wellwishing of my self with many others that it might be begun and practised in an plantation for their greatest good. I give you for the present but a short hint and delineation of it, which would other wise require a particular deduction in many sheets; some that were slighting this most universall noble and usefull undertaking as an idle project, upon better consideration and after many debates have ingeniously confessed to be as good and in some respects better than the philosophers stone suppose it were; I am sure it would be one of the best means to hide or cover the philosophicall mystery. And if once I come to be better known to the foresaid society I shall never leave till they have sett it on foot; for if it had a sufficient stock (which no doubt they can easily afford) the undertaking can be carried on for all publick and private most incredible advantages meerly in a privat way. Here you have likewise a letter from the Honourable Will. Brere[ton] [31] Esq. Eldest son to the Lord Brere[ton] of Cheshire but a man of a more universall spirit who desires heartily your better acquaintance. The Ms he speaks of the American adeptus[32] he had from my secret communications but they are all at your service if you have not them allready. For I am in good earnest as long as I live. Much honoured sir Yours very truely to love and serve you

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[27] Perhaps William Postel.

[28] John Hall, *Model of Christian Society* and *The Right Hand of Christian Love Offered* (Cambridge, 1647), which were published as additions to his *Of the Advantageous Reading of History* (London, 1657). They are translations of Johann Valentin Andreae, *Christianae Societatis Imago* and *Christiani Amoris Dextera Porrecta*, copies of which, contained in the Hartlib MSS, have been published by me in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, LXXIII, 407–432; LXXIV, 151–185, 448.

[29] John Dury, *Restaurationis Universalis Cynosura et Amussis*, of which there is a manuscript copy in the Hartlib MSS.

[30] By William Potter. See his *Key to Wealth* (London, 1650), and his "A Bank of Lands," in *Samuel Hartlib His Legacy of Husbandry*, 3rd. edn. (London, 1655), pp. 289–299.

SAM. HARTLIEB THE ELDER

March 16, 1660 [N.S.]

P.S. If you would favour me with a barrel of crane berries in New England I will study to be thanckfull.

The Paper called the Husb[andry] of St. Foyne[33] hath beene p[ractised?] for many years with such great profit that the Author of it, a chiefe Knight in kent would imparted to no living soule it being too good to bee discovered under a Commonwealth being a fierce Royalist.

## JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO SAMUEL HARTLIEB

From HARTF: Aug: 25 1660

MUCH HONORED SIR, I received your most welcome large letter of the 16 of March last, which came to my hand lately from our worthy

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[31] William Brereton, afterwards third Baron Brereton, of Brereton in Cheshire.

[32] Possibly George Stirk, on whom see my "George Stirk, Philosopher by Fire (1628?–1665)," Col. Soc. Mass., *Pubs.*, XXXVIII (1947–51), 218–251.

[33] In the Hartlib MSS is a double sheet about the growing of sainfoin, but I do not know if it is the paper here mentioned or who the "chiefe Knight" may be.

Reverend friend mr. Davenport, and not long after the box, and bookes and papers therein mentioned of which according to your intimation I send you a particular of every booke, and manuscript and paper (I thinke not one omited) I thanke you very much for your great paines in giving me so large and full and many intelligences in your letter, and for the favours of those usefull bookes and manuscripts (Dona mihi auro pretiotiora). I was very glad at the reading of mr. Davenports letter to understand there was with it a letter from your selfe: but in the reading of your letter, I am filled with sorrow for your great affliction that I therby understand is upon you by that tormenting disease the stone of the bladder; and it troubles me that I should occation addition to your trouble, by diseasing your selfe in writing so largely, in the tymes of so many fitts of those sharpe paines: I should be glad I could answer your desires in any such helpe as might be for your cure or ease. I have but little experience in that disease (as to the cure). Not many have beene afflicted with that trouble in these parts. My opinion is that you should principally and firstly attend some meanes for the easing those sharp paines of which the stone may not be the immediate cause, but I rather suppose some ulcer, or excoriation caused possibly by the stone grating or fretting upon that tender place: and therefore advise principally to attend the cure of such excoriation or ulcer for then you may have ease although the stone should continue, except it be some rugged stone with edges or corners: And for such cure I can advise no better then the use of some of those minerall waters as Tunbridge, or that which Dr. Deane calls the English spadara water in Yorkeshire (I thinke the title of his little treatise in quarto upon it about 3 or 4 sheets is spadara Anglicana etc.[34]) other the like waters are I heare in Kent Darbeshire and other parts, of which you may upon enquiry be better informed, and which of them have beene found by experience most helpfull in that case: for certainly you may heare of some that have beene cured of the stone by some of those waters and may be informed from the spa: of the like but I rather thinke there might be ease which would readily be taken for a cure. The case of mr. Nicolas Bifeild was very remarkable, who after much and grievous paines, was (as I am credibly informed) at such ease for many yeares (its said for 14 yeares together) that he thought he had beene fully cured of the stone: and as I am informed had that cure of his paine by drinking some such water, I think in Darbeshire or Yorksh. though had really no cure of the stone but of some ulcer or rawnesse etc. for when he died there was a stone found in his body of 33 ounces, and was 15½ inches about the edges etc. as it is set downe by Dr. William Googe in his preface to some sermons of the said mr. Bifeild upon the 2d chapter of the 1st of Peter. Printed 1623 to be sold by George Latham at the Brasen Serpent in Paules church yard. He doth not there set downe the yeares of the intermission of his paines nor the meanes of his cure by those water[s]; but I have seene it more fully in some other author which I cannot now remember, and mr. Davenport doe else know it and was with him in his sicknesse and I think saw the stone which was taken out of his body: I[n] relation to such cure for your ease and also for the stone it selfe I should advise to forbeare all sorts of wine ordinarily exept very much diluted with water 3 or 4 parts at least of water to one of wine[35] in case through custome or other reason some may be desired and though I know white wine is usually prescribed and medicines prescribed to be taken in it as vehiculum, yet I cannot but think it hurtfull (especially if any inflammation accompany the excoriation) taken without mixture of water or small beere etc: forbeare also strong beere and spiritts of wine or the like distilled liquors, also very new or very stale and sour beere: also all kind of Baked pyecrust, also all sorts of spice especially ginger and cloves, also garlick onions mustard and such like as may cause sharpnesse in the urine especially upon experience also hott bread and fine manchet cheese and cheescurds etc.

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[34] Edmund Deane, *Spadacrene Anglica* (London, 1626).

There is a kind of foode well knowne to the welsh and west country which these call Wash Brew the welsh call Flummery or flummery (if I right spell it as they pronounce it) which I have heard much commended as a good diet for such as are troubled with the stone. You may inquire better of it: if excoriation be cured and therby the payne removed; then may it be yet seasonable to apply to the wasting the stone, notwithstanding ease attained, which I beleive mr. Bifeild neglected, and so possibly it grew dayly bigger: to take 2 or thre tymes, some good safe preparation of Antimony, or the infusion of the Regulus of it, may much conduce to this cure. Take it with a day or 2 intermission and so after a while with reiteration as occasion and experience may be. You are not ignorant I beleive of the virtue and use of the Lapis Neph[r]iticus and the Lignum Nephriticum. I have only heard and read thereof but not seene any experience. There is a medicine that Hartman[36] commends ex millepedibus a creeping creature I think the English call them sowes. Laurembergius senior I think speaks of the like in a little treatise in octavo or duodecimo which he hath written about his owne case in that disease.[37] I have left those bookes at my house where I have former lived and have some tymes recourse unto neere Boston so as I cannot at present write what is said about that particular. I approve much of that receipt you sent ex Haligraphia Tholdii but why common Niter refined should not be as good if not better than that kind of preparation seemes a question, but I give way to experience: I have thoughts of such minerall waters as aforesaid for the wasting the stone it selfe by a constant use (but yet with such intermissions as may have respect to the state of the body in other considerations) and not to cease the use (though the paine should be first cured as aforesaid) by mistaking that for the cure of the stone, which yet may remaine: the constancy of application in such a cure may effect the cure (Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed sæpe cadendo). I should thinke also that artificial mixtures might supply the place of such naturall waters where the condition of the patient cannot admitt to be neere the use of them: I have heard some drops of spirit of vitriolum greatly commended in a sufficient quantity of a vehiculum of posset drinke, small beere or pure fountain water. In the complaints of paines where I suspect the Lythiasis I dissolve a little sel prunnell: or refined Θ[38] in a good quantity of such vehiculum (as about a scruple to a pint or rather a quart for such as will drink more willingly) and drink it as they can for it alaieth inflammation and easeth in some measure. But my experience hath not yet beene so much as to determine whether the sal prun: or the Niter be best: but I chuse the prunella upon the authority of Thold: and authors.

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[35] In the margin: "also cider perry metheglin and the like."

These following were communicated to me as secretts but I had not oportunities to make sufficient triall of them to my satisfaction, but because they are easily attained I shall informe you of them: the first was told me by an ancient man that said he had experience of himselfe and others in London. He was an Elder a Ruling Elder of a church. It is this: halfe a pint of sack, halfe a pint of white wine and a pint of ordinary small beere, and a small quantity of juice of lymons mix all these and drinke as great a draught as you can in a morning, and use this severall tymes. But I suspect such a large quantity of the wine (the sack especially) and therfore have prescribed in the use of it to such as I have directed not halfe so much yet rather more of the beere or water. I suppose the cheife good of it is that it is diureticall; and almost the like effect eyther of those wines alone with a quantity of beere or water will have and a spoonfull or 2 of juice of limons may be ynough. but I doe not remember the just quantity of that in the said receipt and I have it not heere to peruse it.

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[36] Johann Hartmann, for whom see Ferguson, I, 365–366.

[37] Wilhelm Lauremberg, Sr., *Epistolica Dissertatio, Continens Curationem Calculi Vesicae* (Leyden, 1619). His use of millipedes to cure himself of the stone is mentioned in *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, ed. Thomas Birch, 6 vols. (London, 1772), II, 96, 131.

[38] Niter.

An other is this. Take some cuttings of a vine lay them one end into the fire, and the juice or sap of it will run out at the other end. Gather carefully, and drinke a little of it some tymes: this I have not yet tried.

The other is this. Burne the end of an ash-stick (as big as ones arme or thereabout) in a quick fire and when it is of a flaming fire quench it in a pot of beere, and drinke it up in the morning and so every morning and other tymes of the day also if you will. This I knew used by an auncient gentlewoman, and she said she found much good by it for the stone: an other I knew that said he had helpe by the powder of seahorse pissle scraped and made small and a little long pepper with it, but I remember not the proportions nor other matters about the tymes and manner of use of it, and have not the receipt heere that I can find: I know authors are full of probable receipts for this disease, and therefore I shall not neede add more exept I had experience of them but I shall only adde a caution or 2 that may possibly be of some use.

The one is not to give way (if possible to forbeare) to every motion when the bladder is empty, for I feare it doth increase the dolour and custome increaseth the provocation: the other is not to use such things as are of force to breake the stone into flakes or scales for the edges of these scales will much afflict, and this eyther Laurembergius or some other as I remember complains of as very greivous to them. And I suppose it may be in the quantity of the medicament, and possibly the same in a lesse proportion may abate it into lesse parts or sand. *That question in* your letter wherein the Adepti seeme to differ whether the lapis can cure the stone, I suppose, adhuc sub judice lis est: only they that possesse such a secret can make experiment thereof, which can only determine the doubt, therein: but its probable operation may be in healing any exulceration and then strengthening nature to expell, or by degrees to diminish it, for I cannot but thinke that if once it can be stopped, from its growing or increasing nature it selfe hath some power to dissolve or diminish much more by so potent helpe.

Its one of the greatest doubts that appeare against the reality of such an universall or potent elixer, why so many worthy persons are languishing, and in misery without helpe and cure, and why in such cases and in other good workes, these Adepti are (as you well observe) so inepti: but there may also probably be satisfactory answers to that doubt. *But tyme doth not permitt me to inlarge in this discourse.* I beseech the God of infinite compassion to stirre up some meanes and helpe for your ease and full recovery: it is his wonderfull goodnesse that hath supported you hitherto so long under so great sufferings in that torturing disease, he is able still to support and in his good tyme to find out waies of cure. To his good hand I commend you and rest Yours really and cordially to serve you

JOHN WINTHROP

I am very glad of this beginning of acquaintance with that noble learned gentleman mr. Brereton, whose very acceptable letter I received together with yours. I can truly for my part apply that which was said to one of the Emperours of the Christians in the primative tymes Metuo amant antequam norint: I shalbe cutt short in writing to him so largely as I desired, and am shortned to your selfe in many particulars, and could but only have tyme to write this that concernes your aflicting trouble: for I am presently upon the receit of yours to travaile about publique business and shalbe a good tyme absent from my present habitation and am informed that a ship is ready to goe from Boston to London, and the oportunity of a messenger hence thither which is above 200 miles hence is suddaine.

I wish you could prevaile with Dr. Keffler to bury that fire worke[39] (which you mention he would have made knowne) in oblivion and not by any meanes divulge it. There are meanes ynough already knowne to the world of ruin and destruction to mankind both by sea and land.

I have given speciall order to a friend at Boston (whence the shipp is to saile for London) to shippe for me a barrell of cranberies, and to direct it carefully to your selfe, which I doubt not but it wilbe accordingly done, if it be the season for them, and can possibly be procured, but if not, the season I hope by the next oportunity which wilbe now towards winter, it wilbe to the utmost endeavoured to be accomplished: my remotenesse from the place where the ships are necessitates me to use the helpe of a friend in that businesse.

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[39] See note 17.

*A note of the particulars of those Books and manuscripts and papers in the box from Mr. Hartlib*

*A discourse about* the office of Address in quarto[40]
*Reply to the Danish* papers: in quarto.[41]
*The interest of* England in the protestant cause: in quarto[42]
*The Reformed Schoole, and* reformed library keeper[43]
*Mr. Pells Idea* being halfe a sheet:[44]
*Universall Character:* Halfe a sheet:[45]
*Circula quadratura: being* halfe a sheet.[46]
*Mr. Hartlibs Legacy* of Husbandry. in quarto[47]
*of education: to mr. Hartlib:*[48]
*Interrogatories for Ireland* in quarto[49]
*Historia revelationum* Christopheri Kotteri, Christianæ Poniatoviæ etc. in quarto [50]

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[40] Either Samuel Hartlib, *Considerations Tending to the Happy Accomplishment of Englands Reformation in Church and State* (London, 1647), which includes "A Brief Discourse concerning the Accomplishment of Our Reformation, Tending to Shew That by an Office of Publike Addresse," or his *A Further Discoverie of the Office of Publick Addresse for Accomodations* (London, 1648).

[41] (London, 1659).

[42] By John Dury (London, 1659).

[43] Both by Dury.

[44] John Pell, *An Idea of Mathematicks,* printed as an addition to Dury, *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper* (London, 1650).

[45] By George Dalgarno, whose *Ars Signorum; Vulgò Charàcter Universalis et Lingua Philosophica* was published at London in 1661.

[46] John Wallis, "De Quadratura Circuli," in his *Arithmetica Infinitorum* (Oxford, 1655).

[47] Probably the third edition (London, 1655).

[48] By John Milton, first published in London in 1644.

[49] The second edition (London, 1652) of *Samuel Hartlib His Legacy* has an appendix entitled "An Interrogatory Relating More Particularly to the Husbandry and Natural History of Ireland."

[50] Published by Comenius in 1659.

*A treatise of fruit* trees: by R: Austen in quarto[51]
*Reformed Commonwealth* of bees in quarto[52]
*Axiomata de Magnete Halfe sheet.*
*An Invention of Engines* and motions, with other treatises with it in quarto[53]
*Advice for advancement of some* part of learning in quarto[54]
*Observation upon Bacons naturall* History in quarto[55]
*Sir Richard Westons* Legacy to his sonne[56]
*Lucerna salis philosophorum*[57]
*Chemicall medicinall etc.* addresses.[58]
*Herefordshire Orchards.*[59]
*Gentis fœlicitas*[60]
*A modell of Christian Society*[61]
*Novum lumen medicum in high* duch[62]
*Hollandi opus vegetabile*[63]
*Vom philos: saltz von* son sendivodius in duch.[64]
*Obligatory act of yonker lovis.*
*Samuelii Hartlibii epistola* gratulatoria[65]
*The Husbandry of St. Foine*
*sal contra* calculum.
*Aproximation to Perp: Motion* per C. Dimock.[66]

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[51] By Ralph Austen. The two Oxford editions are dated 1653 and 1657.

[52] See note 9.

[53] Cressy Dymock, *An Invention of Engines of Motion* (London, 1651), who claimed his work approximated perpetual motion.

[54] (London, 1648), and written for Hartlib by Sir William Petty.

[55] Ralph Austen, *Observations upon Some Part of Sir Francis Bacon's Naturall History* (Oxford, 1658).

[56] Printed in *Samuel Hartlib His Legacie*, 1st edn. (London, 1651).

[57] By J. F. Hautnorthon (Hartprecht or Harprecht) (Amsterdam, 1658). See Ferguson, I, 368–369, II, 45.

[58] See note 7.

[59] By John Beale (London, 1657).

[60] By Comenius (n.p., 1659).

[61] See note 28.

[62] By Joachim Polemann (Amsterdam, 1659). See Ferguson, II, 210.

[63] Joannes Isaacus Hollandus, *Opera Mineralia et Vegetabilia* (Arnheim, 1616). Winthrop's copy is now at the New York Academy of Medicine.

[64] By Michael Sendivogius (Amsterdam, 1657); "son" = "sohn," for Hartprecht (Harprecht or Hautnorthon) called himself the "son" of Sendivogius.

[65] Written in 1655 for the German translation of Francis Rous, *Mystical Marriage.*

[66] See note 53.

Manuscripts

*A manuscript* about operation of planets
*About banke of lands* and commodities[67]
*letters about sider and perrie*
letter about Elias Artist:[68]
*De anima perp: Mobilis*
*mr. Samuell Wartensis* about Bees
*a letter from Hereford feb:* 28:
Another of Feb: 9: 1660 and of feb: 17:[69]
*A sheet in Latin* about a colledge[70]
*A garden of pleasure halfe* sheet[71]
*a letter* about a phisick garden
a letter to mr. Evelin Sept: 2: 1659 and another to
mr. Hartlib, Sept: 2: 1659
*extract literar:* Amst: Mar. 9: 1660
extract from paris Mar: 13: 1660[72]
*To mr. Hartlib* from mr. Evelin.
*New invented* clock[73]
*a letter from Amst: July 11: 1657.*
*elisium britanicum.*[74]
*extract Polem.* de P. M:
*Becheri inventio Argonautica*[75]
*extract* from Frankford July 18: 58
*Horsmans prospective*[76]

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[67] See note 30.

[68] Elias Artista "became a term among alchemists for him who should solve their desperate problem" of the elixir that would transmute base metals into gold. George L. Kittredge, "Dr. Robert Child the Remonstrant," Col. Soc. Mass., *Pubs.*, XXI, 131–132. See also Ferguson, I, 236–237.

[69] In the Hartlib MSS are letters about optical glasses from John Beale to Hartlib written from Hereford, Feb. 28, 1659, Feb. 10 and 17, 1660. Winthrop's "Feb: 9: 1660" may thus be an error.

[70] John Beale's memorandum entitled "For a Colledge" is in the Hartlib MSS but is in English, not Latin.

[71] This item and the next are by Beale and are in the Hartlib MSS.

[72] The extract, quoting a Johann Joachim Becher letter, is in the Hartlib MSS.

[73] A sheet describing new Rotterdam clocks is in the Hartlib MSS.

[74] See *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.*, ed. William Bray, 4 vols. (London, 1879), III, 190–194.

[75] Copies of Becher's *Nova Inventio Argonautica* are in the Hartlib MSS.

[76] In the Hartlib MSS is a sheet, by John Beale, I am sure, describing three perspectives: a horseman's, a seaman's, and a Galilaean, as he calls them.

*mr. Smethwick Tube*[77]
*a letter about Firr trees*[78]
*a relation of Buttler*[79]
A letter from Paris of Mar: 13: 1660.[80]

### JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO SAMUEL HARTLIB

*These For my worthy friend Samuell Hartlib senior esqr. at his house in Axyard in Kingstreet In Westminster deliver*

HARTFORD IN NEW ENGL. Octob. 25, 1660

MUCH HONORED SIR, Yours of March 16 last I received, and not long after wrote by a ship that went from Boston called the Prudent Mary wherof mr. Woodgreen was master, or captain: but to whose hands they were committed my correspondent at Boston hath not informed me. I gave order to have a Barrell of the best cranberies provided, and sent thence to your selfe, and had notice from my friend there, that it should be done without faile, but could not be by that ship, but the season would be for them by the next: considering also that there is a usuall foode of this country, which they call sampe, which is made of the Indian corne, which is very easy of disgestion, and diureticall, and hath beene accounted good against the disease of the stone, I have also desired my friend in Boston to send you also from me a Barrell of that corne, which he assures me also shalbe done in the season, but that it will not be fitt by the same passage of the cranberies, exept he should put up old corne, which would not be so good: I hope both those barrells wilbe conveied safely to your hands, they wilbe directed to mr. John Harwood merchant,[81] I think he lives about tower hill. He was once of Boston and lived some good space of tyme there; and hath usually much goods directed hence to his hands.[82] If they come to his notice he will be carefull to direct them to your

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[77] Descriptions of Smethwick's optical tube are in the Hartlib MSS.

[78] A copy of a portion of a letter about fir trees, dated Durham, Dec. 12, 1659, is in the Hartlib MSS.

[79] William Butler?

[80] See note 72.

[81] In the margin: "all the charges about them I have ordered to be paid as fraught and any other I desire your acceptance of so small a mite."

[82] Hartlib received the cranberries but not the corn.

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selfe: he can direct you to some of New England persons man or woman, who can fully order that dish to be made of that corne, you may please to use my name to him therein (possibly his wife can direct any of your servants about it for she lived long in this country.) It must be well boyled and if rightly ordered is a very good foode; which whiles it was much used it was observed that few, or none complained of that disease the stone, nor is it usuall among the natives, who use, that corne for their cheife foode; I heard none complaine of it. When I wrote last to you being upon a journye about publique affaires I had not tyme then to mention more then what concerned that afflicting disease the stone whereby you are troubled, wherof it was and is my reall afflicting sorrow to be informed: what I wrote then may possibly be of little use to you, more then to satisfy you that I have not had any such experience about the cure of that disease, that might make me capable to doe you good in directing towards a cure: yet upon further consideration I cannot but againe hint my hopes of cure by the use of minerall waters,[83] finding some notes of former readings of encouragement from learned authors from their observation of the effects of such waters in Germany and other places which makes me think that (considering also what I wrote before of mr. Nicolas Bifeild) there may be, by inquiry found incouraging cures of that kind by some waters in Eng: I mentioned also a medicine of seahorse pisle and long pepper: I since understand that one that hath had himselfe the triall and benefitt by it is yet living in England, his name is mr. Edward Fletcher, he lived once in Boston in New England, and since I heare he preacheth in some part of Glostershire or those westerne parts, but mr. Harwood or some N. Engl: men can informe where he is, or one Mr. Jessy,[84] pastor of an anabaptist church I heare knoweth him. I certified of the receipt of those rare papers and bookes (Dona mihi auro pretiosiora) for which I am much obliged, and returne you again many thankes, I have in my former sent an exact particular of every one both manuscripts and books as you desired: I was since with our worthy friend mr. Davenport, he sent letters also by the same ship: I live at present about 40 miles from him, but we have often correspondence by letters, and I heare this weeke of his welfare. He imparted to me those remarkable things you mention sent to him, and amongst the rest that Cynosura[85] of worthy Mr. Dureus to whom I pray my respects be presented, if he have not forgotten me, yet I have good remembrance of him though had but little oportunity of his acquaintance, at the Lord Forbes lodgings: I have a catalouge of those bookes I lost by the Dunkirkes, but I cannot find it among my *papers* heere, I suppose it is left among my other *papers* and bookes, at my house where I sometymes reside neere Boston where the rest of my library is, and there have a catalouge of all my bookes, amongst which I have divers in high duch, which I doe well understand making dayly use of divers in that language, and doe highly esteeme authors in that language, as to chimicall minerall and medicinall matters especially: amongst which I have Joh. Agricola through your favour when I was in london having before lost those amongst others by the Dunkirks: I have also Laz: Erker and Joh: Mathesius[86] which I have heere at present with me besides many smaller authors: that which you mention of the aproaching tymes of the manifestation of naturall truthes is very probable and were very desirable, and this age hath in some measure tasted thereof but God hideth from the unworthy vaine sinfull world many exellent things, which he knoweth they are very apt to abuse, turning all to pride luxury and vanity, and such as God hath revealed such exellent secretts as might be of use to mankind they feare the divulging of them least they should be turned to abuse by the vaine world, and serve the lusts of wicked men, and the poore remaine still in the greater want and misery under the oppression of the rich who should relieve them, and find out and indeavour such waies of imployment for them as they might comfortably subsist thereby: those applications of the perpetual motion which you mention are very wonderfull, if so generall, but if it should succeede there is this scruple whether for a generall good, whether not deprive the poore of their labour etc. (For the poore shalbe alwaies in the world.) Rich men commonly reape the benefits of invention to make them more rich, and the poore yet more miserable and uncomfortable, but I mention this but as a question etc. I find in your book the legacy of Husbandry mention of my name in a letter, which hath no name to it but I guesse it to be Dr. Rob:

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[83] Hartlib replied on Sept. 3, 1661, that he dared not use mineral waters. Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 1st Ser., XVI, 214.

[84] Henry Jessie (Jacie).

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[85] See note 29.

[86] For Lazarus Ercker see Ferguson, I, 242–245; Johann Mathesius (1504–1565) was a Bohemian minister and author.

Child,[87] of whom I should willingly understand whether yet inter vivos for I fear he is dead because I have not heard from him these many years: your question proposed about that friend[88] of whose Talents you desire to be informed, I cannot at present so satisfactorily answer, nor fully as he might himselfe if any providence should bring him to a personal conference with you: but this I can informe you that he hath beene busied about Ironworkes and discovery of mineralls in this country and hath some singularities about salt workes and the seperating the fresh from the salt in a speedy easy way: he hath upon occasion practised phisick where want of other helpes in that kind have beene but otherwise unwillingly, and some chyrurgicall operations in pity to such as could have no other meanes: and for chemicall questions I believe he would willingly try some experiments that way as to medicinall preparation therby especially, if instruments of glasses and such like were not much wanting in these parts and for aproximations to that desirable medicine he is I know very doubtfull of what he hath not seene a reall and full experiment of though in imagination may seeme never so probable (qui tenet anguillam per caudam, non tenet illam). His want of oportunities heere in the wilderness for such experiments I know have beene very troublesome to him as also want of materialls and glasses and other instrumentall matters, but if he were in Europe he thinkes he might find out some old acquaintance that have beene long tyme busied about such matters that would not hide from him what they have had experience of for the health of miserable man. I am sorry mr. platt lived in such want and came to so suddaine an end, I beleive you have many such scores as his maintenance left to be paid in heaven, having cast much bread upon the waters, but Gods word is sure, after many daies you shall find it. I am glad that mr. comenius is living and at worke for advancement of learning. I cannot read your relation of that honest worthy true Nathaniell, as you are pleased rightly to terme him mr. Morian, without very great content and rejoycing that he is in a comfortable way of subsistance: my due and cordiall remembrance to him I pray if you have occasion (although possibly hath forgotten me). He was pleased to favour me with his name in Albo amicorum.

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[87] On Child see Kittredge, "Dr. Robert Child," 1–146, Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), pp. 244–268, and my "Robert Child," Col. Soc. Mass., *Pubs.*, XXXVIII, 21–53.

On Sept. 3, 1661, Hartlib wrote Winthrop that Child had died in Ireland "about 3 years agoe." Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 1st Ser., XVI, 213, correctly printed from Winthrop MSS, XIV, 11, and thus negating my query in Col. Soc. Mass., *Pubs.*, XXXVIII, 45, *n.* 8, that the 3 was perhaps a "misreading of an 8 written by Hartlib." Whatever the reason, this was a curious error for Child's close friend Hartlib to make, as he must surely have known that Child died early in 1654.

[88] Winthrop himself, an allusion Hartlib apparently failed to recognize.

That opticall lanthorne wilbe very usefull,[89] I shalbe glad to heare it perfected: I long much to heare of the manner of the fabrique of that new Telescopium in holland, I hope he will describe, if hath not already in his Systema Saturnium. my Telescop: of about 10 foot doth shew little of Saturne: I am listing what it is those Adepti doe really find defective in Glauber, as you mention I have seene few of his bookes: that which you mention about a banke of lands would be of wonderfull exellent use if could be effected, but how shall people be perswaded to see there owne and countries good therein: that friend of whose talents you inquired hath an other way[90] that may easily be effected without such engagement of Lands, which you may be further acquainted with in convenient season being not for the capacity of a letter of uncertaine conveiance, it containing withall some very secretts of profitable traffique especially as in relation to these parts: Sir the world is very deeply in your dept for your great deserts in so many painfull and studious endeavours for the good of mankind: my thankes accept for millions that know you not. Macte rebus publicis, rebus optimis, vir optime virtutibus macte, great wilbe your reward in glory, at his appearing who shall call for an account of those talents he hath betrusted, to whose good hand I commend you and with my affectionate respects presented and to your son mentioned in your letter, Mr. Clodius, though unknowne by sight and rest Sir your much obliged reall friend

JOHN WINTHROP

### JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO SAMUEL HARTLIB

MUCH HONORED SIR, By my former I mentioned the receipt of your of the 16th of March last with those several rarities of bookes and Manuscript papers for which I am much obliged and returne you many thankes. I sent you back in my former letter according to your desire a catalougue of every particular both bookes and papers; and am surprised by this suddane oportunity by a freind going to a place called New london[91] to take shipping for Barbados, who promiseth safe delivery there to a good hand, but I have but few hours to write to your selfe and divers others. I have intelligence from my brother mr. John Richards from Boston that he hath shipped aboard a ship that is bound to London a barrell of the best cranburies could be procured, and directed them to mr. John Harwood *who I thinke lives upon tower hill* neare Savage house, and hath many other goods consigned to him, and writes that he desired him to take speciall notice of that Barrell of cranburies and that would take speciall care to see them safely delivered to your selfe, *Mr. Harwood is* a friend of mine who lived also not long since in New england: and I know wilbe very carefull of them: he writes also that he gave you notice of the same by a letter: *I wrote to him* also to put up for me and ship aboard and direct to your selfe, a barrell of Indian corne, which the season was not to be putt up when the other barrell was shipped, but he writes me *word he hath taken speciall order about the same*, the fraught of the other barrell he writes me he hath satisfied as I directed him and hath ordered the fraught of this also to be paid when *shipped* (For he himselfe is now newly sayled towards Barbados). That sort of corne they used to make a most ordinary and pleasant food thereof called sampe which [is] easy of disgestion and very diuretique and it hath beene observed that whiles people used most of that foode it was rare to heare of any troubled with the stone, and its rare also among the Indians who use it constantly: *mr. Harwood or any* New england man or woman can direct the making and dressing of that sampe or direct to some New england woman that will doe it and shew your servants to doe it rightly etc: If these barrells come safe to your hands be pleased to accept them as a very small token of greater respects and ingagements: I hope they wilbe safely transmitted. I could take no greater care about them and I know my said friend there at Boston was very carefull to order the best way for safe transportation.

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[89] On Morian's forgetfulness and on the "opticall lanthorne" see Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 1st Ser., XVI, 213.

[90] Winthrop himself. See William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1789*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1890), I, 321–323.

Sir I thought fitt to add a word or 2 to what I formerly wrote concerning the use of minerall waters in reference to your sad afflicted condition (the consideration whereof is really a continuall affliction to my heart simpathising with your sorrowes therein). If you please to make inquiry by your correspondents and friends I doubt not but you wilbe informed of some fitting waters in some parts of England for such cures, and will heare of many experimentall cases in that kind it may be of some yet living: and will know which may be the fittest for your particular case: and whether they may be transported with their entire virtue from the place, or whether certius ex ipso fonte bibuntur aquæ. I have great hopes of those waters for your helpe especially often reiterated though possibly with some necessary intermission as those that know you will best direct (Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo). The Thermæ Færinæ in Ducatu Wirtembergico, are said by Andernacus (si memini) aut Rulandus[92] to be et potu et insidendo utiles ad expellendos calculos renum, I have not the bookes at present but find this in some papers which I overlooked lately in reference to your trouble as a memorandum I had taken, I suppose out of one of those authors. My note also mentions De fonte Bollensi ex Fallopio de aquis medicatis: and I think Bauhicuss[93] hath something of the same. In Regiense agro apud castellum vocatum Brondale est fons aquæ medicatæ quæ sanat vesicæ dolores et expellit arenulas et lapillos et saniem: and I am not long since now informed of one that I knew long tyme to have beene troubled with great dolour in the bladder and I heare is cured by a water in those parts where he liveth which is much used for other distempers. I shall inquire further about it. It is farr from this place that I cannot now have any certaine inquiry till after winter: I have read over that booke De societate Christiana, and that other you mentioned which I borrowed lately of our worthy friend Mr. Davenport (who was last weeke in good health. I heard then from him. He knoweth not of this oportunity). I meane that cynosura et amussis restaur. etc.[94] The scope of them is of singular matter and worthy consideration, but whether there be really such a Christian Society in Germany or else where is worth the inquiry: that booke of a Banke by ingenious mr. Potter[95] I have perused and what your selfe have written about the same subject in your letter. It is certainly a matter of very great consequence and would tend much to the publique good, but I doubt whether it wilbe ever attained because very few wilbe perswaded to ingage their lands though the thing be so rationall that no objections but might be answered, and though divers in their owne spirits would be satisfied and willing to it, yet there wilbe so many relations to be satisfied also, wives children that are growne up, parents of some, or their wives parents and kindred, or the childrens kindred in pretence of care of them and other friends all must be satisfied, (which is impossible) or it will come hardly of, exept in some few. That friend of whose talents you desired to be informed, hath another very reall way[96] which may be probably attainable, without any ingagement of lands, and thereby mony would flow in abundantly: he had once purposed to promote it in these plantations, but for some reasons hath deferred till he could goe into England finding upon further consideration that it might be better effected with correspondence there though but with some particular company, but much more if a generall banke were there setled: but the troubles and warres there have diverted his thoughts, of that voyage hitherto, that he hath not prepared or taken any course to have such a stock transferred and at command there, as might defray the charges and occurrences, and consequences of such a voyage: which he thinks he had neede first have a thousand pound or 2 visible estate in some known sure hand before he could comfortably adventure upon such a voyage, which possibly tyme might produce but interim currunt dies, and the work that God setts before us is great sed vita brevis: this way which he intends hath some concomitants which would greatly advance commerce and other publique concernments for the benifitt of poore and rich in great Brittaine and the good of these plantations would easily be involved therein but it cannot be satisfactorily (so farre as I know of it) declared in a letter, his collections in reference thereunto being of many sheets; neyther may some matters that concerne the secretts of some waies of profitt in which the undertakers of such a banke would be invested, be conveniently intrusted in a letter, but if he could by any oportunity speake with you I hope he would make it appeare really: and then he could also best satisfy your question himselfe, what Talents God hath intrusted him etc: which I have also in some measure answered in another letter. But you may also be satisfied sufficiently by what I have above mentioned, concerning his unpreparedness for the charges for such a voyage how farr short his estate is from what you seeme to hint in your letter to be surmised, he is contented with a wilderness condition and I beleive can truly say Fælix cui deus obtulit Parca quod satis est manu: yet I know when he can have such a visible stock, is not without thought of one voyage more into Europe:[97] I know it is his judgement that it is not safe for a stranger (for so now he accounts himselfe to his native country having sold all long since then and long absent thence and many knowne old friends gone) to be in an other country without some knowne visible way of supply especially one that cannot but spend much, which I think hath made him speak of a visible stock as I have mentioned from his owne expressions: though he might have supply by what traffique he might bring over, yet not being knowne as a merchant would not be so convenient as certaine supplies as by bills of exchange to knowne merchants as the manner is in these cases: Sir I should add many other things but tyme cuts me short and therefore with most harty desires to that great phisitian to give you perfect recovery, and my most reall respects presented, I shall take leave to subscribe my selfe Honored Sir Youre cordiall friend

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[91] In the margin: "New London is about 50 miles from hence, a very brave Harbour and so called by our court heere only in memory of that famous city."

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[92] Andernacus was Joannes Guinterius, author of *Commentarius de Balneis et Aquis Medicatis* (Strassburg, 1565); Rulandus was perhaps Martin Ruland, Sr.

[93] Gabriello Fallopio, author of *De Medicatis Aquis* (Venice, 1564); Bauhicuss may refer to Johann Bauhin's *Artznen, und Badbuch; oder, historische Beschreibung vast aller heilsamen Bäder und Sauerbrunnen* (Stuttgart, 1602–03).

[94] On "De societate Christiana" see note 28; on "cynosura et amussis" see note 29.

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[95] On Potter see note 30.

[96] Winthrop himself; see note 90.

JOHN WINTHROP

HARTFORD Jan: 7: 1660[/61] in NEW ENGL:

Sir If you can receive pay for them according to this inclosed letter I desire you to procure me these few bookes: viz:

Selenographia
Systema Saturnium[98]
All Glaubers bookes in duch or latine exept his booke of New Furnaces with apendices and de auro potabili and his thre books operum mineralium and

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[97] The quotation is from Horace, *Odes*, III, 16, 43–44. Winthrop was in Europe and England again in the fall of 1661.

[98] On the "Selenographia" see p. 47 above and Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 1st Ser., XVI, 214; on the "Systema Saturnium" see pp. 47 and 62 above.

Brereton wrote Winthrop on Oct. 2, 1661, that he had sent him a copy in America and would try to procure him another now that Winthrop was in England.

his Miraculum mundi: for these I have seene already and have some of them in latine but none of the rest I have seene.

A small booke vom Weinsteine printed I think at Hamburg. Keslerus auserlesene process the last edition. I think it is funff Hundert auserlesene processen[99]

[*Endorsed by Hartlib:*] R[eceived] May 10, 1661.

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[99] On "Glaubers bookes" see Mass. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 1st Ser., XVI, 213, and Ferguson, I, 322–330. The Hamburg title is not yet identified. For Thomas Kessler and his *Keslerus Redivivus, Das is, Funff Hundert ausserlesene Chymische Process and Artzneyen*—Winthrop means probably the Nuremberg, 1645, edition—see Ferguson, I, 459–460.

# The Origins of the Union and of the States

## Curtis Putnam Nettels*

During the Civil War the doctrine of state sovereignty offered a justification of attempted secession and gave to the Confederacy a cause more respectable than slavery. Perhaps the most elaborate statement of the doctrine appears in the self-vindication which Alexander Stephens published in 1868 under the title: *A Constitutional View of the late War between the States*. Stephens so esteemed the opinions of Calhoun that he reprinted, almost *in extenso*, the speech of Calhoun of February 28, 1833, in reply to Webster's exposition of the Constitution. Calhoun then said: "Where does Sovereignty reside? If I have succeeded in establishing the fact that ours is a Federal System, as I conceive I conclusively have, that fact of itself determines the question. . . . It is of the very essence of such a system, that the Sovereignty is in the parts, and not in the whole. . . . Ours, then, is a Government of twenty-four Sovereignties, united by a Constitutional Compact, for the purpose of exercising certain powers through a common Government as their joint agent."[1] Beverley Tucker of Virginia stated the doctrine more concisely when he described the Constitution as "a compact fully entered into by States fully established in all the rights and functions of Sovereignty."[2]

Whatever validity the doctrine may have must be determined by a study of the origins of the Union and of the States during the years 1774–1789. It appears that opponents of the doctrine originally manifested more interest in the events of those formative years than did its advocates. This is revealed by the publication history of the first great general collection of records pertaining to the Revolution, the *American Archives*. Its compiler, Peter Force, a unionist and onetime editor of the *National Journal*, a paper which spoke for the administrations of Monroe and John Quincy Adams, received the benefit of an Act of Congress of March, 1833, which authorized the Secretary of

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* This paper was read at the March, 1959, meeting.

[1] Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the late War between the States: Its Causes, Character, Conduct, and Results*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, [1868]), I, 370.

[2] Tucker to Calhoun, Nov. 13, 1844, "Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837–1849," ed. Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks, American Historical Association, *Annual Report for . . . 1929* (1930), p. 259.

State to contract with him for the publication of a documentary history of the Revolution. The very name of the compiler challenged Calhoun, for the project was officially launched in company with the Force Bill of 1833, which struck a mortal blow at his doctrines by authorizing forceful collection of customs duties. Opposition to the venture resulted in an agreement providing that the Secretary of State should approve the material prepared for publication. It does not appear that Calhoun approved of any of the volumes while he was Secretary of State. The project expired following the publication of the ninth volume in 1853. William L. Marcy, Secretary of State and colleague of Jefferson Davis in Pierce's Cabinet, refused to approve the material which Force had assembled for the tenth volume. So indifferent to the early history of the republic was this partisan of slavery and state rights that he said to Force: "I do not believe in your work, sir! It is of no use to anybody. I never read a page of it and never expect to."[3] A year after Marcy made this enlightened statement, Force was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society, in August, 1856.

## I

The Union, as an enduring entity, originated on September 5, 1774, when delegates of twelve of the Thirteen Colonies met in Philadelphia and formed the Continental Congress. Twelve of the States came into being on July 2, 1776, when delegates representing all the Thirteen Colonies except New York adopted the Lee Resolution, which declared the United Colonies to be free and independent States. New York became a State on July 9, 1776, when its provincial congress endorsed the Declaration of Independence. Thus, during a period of twenty-two months after September, 1774, an American Union, "The United Colonies," existed and functioned before the birth of any one state.

During these twenty-two months the Union exercised extensive powers of government and became, for all practical purposes, a single agency for centralized action in the highest realms of statecraft and war. Before July 2, 1776, the Continental Congress adopted a uniform commercial code, established and maintained a unified army, appointed general officers of that army, issued continental currency, enacted a military code of law, sent a diplomatic agent to France, authorized the establishment of a Continental Navy, defined certain offenses—espionage, mutiny, and sedition—as high crimes against the Union, and empowered the Continental Army, through its courts-martial, to inflict the death penalty upon persons found guilty of such crimes.

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[3] *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, ed. William P. Trent et al., 3 vols. in 1 (New York, 1943), II, 119–122.

Upon what authority did the Continental Congress depend when it exercised such far-reaching powers? It did not derive its authority from states, for no states existed at that time. The Continental Association of October 20, 1774, states the source of the Union's authority to be "the inhabitants of the several colonies, whom we represent."[4] The instructions of the delegates sounded loudly the note of union. They were to attend a "general congress," there to "assemble" or "meet with" delegates from other colonies, with whom they were to "join," "advise," "consult," or "agree," or to "form," "effect," "adopt," or "prosecute" a common "plan."[5] The Continental Association, the most important measure of the First Congress, authorized the establishment of local committees to enforce its provisions, and such committees were to draw their authority, not from the individual colony, but from the Union.[6] In effect, the Association was a code of general law imposed upon the people of the twelve colonies, to be enforced by agencies set up by the Union and to operate, if need be, independently or even in defiance of a provincial government.

The original aim of the Revolution was to defend and preserve the rights which were associated with the colonies and which were referred to later as state rights. But it quickly appeared that such rights could be secured only by means of a union. The resistance to Britain involved the colonies in a war so severe that they were forced to act together and to become states in order to win it. Such a war had to be waged by the Union, and the people of one colony could achieve statehood only if the people of all the Thirteen Colonies moved forward to that goal in unison. It is unthinkable that one colony, alone, could have successfully waged a prolonged war against Britain or that one colony would have dared, by unilateral action, to declare independence and thus to achieve statehood. So indispensable was the Union to the winning of independence and statehood that Lincoln scarcely exaggerated when he said that the Union created the States, as States.[7]

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[4] *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, ed. Worthington C. Ford et al., 34 vols. (Washington, 1904–37), I, 76.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 15–24.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, p. 79.

Nowadays it is easy to forget that the leaders of the Revolution long stood within the shadow of the gallows. "Tho I love honor," wrote Eliphalet Dyer in April, 1775, "yet I had rather tarry a little longer before I have the honor of being hangd for my dear Country."[8] When my book on Washington was being readied for the press, an editor questioned a reference by Washington to the hazards of resistance as "confiscation, hanging, etc., etc." Why the "etc., etc."? asked the editor. I replied by referring to the following statement on another page: "A number of American leaders indicated an awareness of their exposure to the charge of treason. The penalty for the crime in English law was rather gruesome. According to Blackstone, the convicted traitor was to be hanged and taken down while alive. Next, his entrails were to be removed and burned, while he yet lived. Then his head was to be cut off and his body divided into four parts."[9]

Could individuals have had a more potent reason for hanging together? Beset by a powerful foe, the Americans needed the combined military resources of all the colonies. Only as a unit could they appeal to France, and after April, 1776, such aid appeared to be absolutely essential to victory.

Once the colonies had set out upon a course of forcible resistance, the pressure for strengthening the Union became irresistible. This is illustrated by the actions of Washington as commander in chief. It was he who extended the activities of the Union by creating the first American navy. When he initiated in September, 1775, the expedition for the conquest of Canada, he asked the Canadians to enter into an "indissoluble Union" with the Thirteen Colonies.[10] In August, 1775, he asserted that the Union was, *de facto*, an independent nation, engaged on an equal footing with the British sovereign in an international war. Having learned that General Gage was holding captured American army officers in a common jail, on the theory that they were rebels or criminals, rather than prisoners of war, Washington sent a strong protest, in which he asserted that British prisoners held by Americans would be treated "exactly by the Rule you shall observe toward . . . ours." Gage replied by stating that he recognized no rank "that is not derived from the King" and spoke of American captives as criminals "whose lives by the law of the land are destined to the cord." Washington then ended the correspondence with a letter in which he implied that treatment of American prisoners in a manner contrary to the usages of war might visit reprisals on American Tories. He also justified the rank of American officers as derived "from the uncorrupted Choice of a brave and free People, the purest Source and original Fountain of all Power."[11]

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[7] Special Session Message, July 4, 1861, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897,* ed. James D. Richardson, 10 vols. (Washington, 1896–99), VI, 27.

[8] Dyer to Silas Deane, April 14, 1775, *The Deane Papers,* I, ed. Charles Isham, New York Historical Society, *Collections for . . . 1886* (1887), p. 43.

[9] Curtis P. Nettels, *George Washington and American Independence* (Boston, 1951), pp. 271, 99.

[10] Washington to the Inhabitants of Canada, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799,* ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, 39 vols. (Washington, 1931–44), III, 479.

Congress made an even more emphatic assertion of authority in the Union with respect to persons accused of criminal acts against the American cause. The offenses were espionage, mutiny, and sedition. In September, 1775, Washington obtained a letter written in cipher by Dr. Benjamin Church, Surgeon General of the Continental Army, which proved that its author had intended to inform the British military authorities of conditions within the Continental Army. A council of American generals found Church guilty of carrying on a "criminal Correspondence with the enemy" and referred the case to the Continental Congress, because the punishment provided for the offense in the existing American military code was inadequate to the "enormity of the crime." The provincial congress of Massachusetts also considered the case but refrained from taking any punitive action because the laws of the colony did not then define aid to the king of Britain as a crime."[12] On November 7, Congress adopted, among others, two resolves of a most decisive character. One provided that all "persons holding a treacherous correspondence with, or giving intelligence to the enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a general court-martial shall think proper."[13] The other resolve authorized an army court-martial to inflict the death penalty upon officers or enlisted men convicted of taking part in a mutiny or sedition.[14] In this emphatic manner Congress endowed the Union with the power of a sovereign nation, and it took such action nearly eight months before the States came into being.

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[11] Washington to Gage, Aug. 11, 20, 1775; Gage to Washington, Aug. 13, 1775, *ibid.*, 416–418, 430–431.

[12] Proceedings of Council of War, Oct. 4, 1775; Resolves of Massachusetts Provincial Assembly, Nov. 11, 12, 1775, Washington Papers (Library of Congress), XIX.

Later events proved that in adopting the resolves of November 7, 1775, Congress had not made an idle gesture. On June 26, 1776—when the colonies were still colonies— a court-martial held at Washington's headquarters in New York found a Continental soldier guilty of taking part in a mutiny. He was hanged on June 28.[15]

The Union led the colonies on the road to statehood. It was imperative at all times that the Union should consist wholly of colonies or wholly of states. The Union could not have held together long if some of its members had become states and others had remained colonies. Such a schism would have shattered the basis of co-operation. All the colonies had to embrace statehood in unison. For this reason, leaders in provincial capitals looked to Congress for advice concerning local actions that might isolate or estrange them from their partners. On four occasions, Congress offered advice to provincial leaders concerning the establishment of new governments on a foundation other than that of the authority of Britain. Such advice was given to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, South Carolina, and Virginia in 1775,[16] and in each case it was accepted and applied by the provincial authorities. Moreover, the Continental Army, with the open or tacit approval of Congress, gave support to the patriots in most of the colonies—support that encouraged them to adopt measures that pointed toward statehood. The sojourn of Washington and the Army in New England and New York had the effect of bracing and inspiriting the local patriots, inspiring them to move in the direction of independence. A similar influence was exerted in Virginia and the Carolinas by an expedition into the South in the spring of 1776 of a continental force under the command of General Charles Lee. Resolves of the Continental Congress of May 10 and May 15, 1776, which urged the colonists to cast off the authority of George III, contributed decisively to the decision for statehood in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, and New York. A review of the state of opinion in most of the colonies convinces me that fears, hesitations, doubts, and opposition to independence were overcome, in good measure, by the assistance and encouragement that were given by the Union, through Congress and the Continental Army.

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[13] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III, 331.

[14] *Ibid.*, III, 331.

[15] Proceedings of a General Court Martial of the Line held at Headquarters in the City of New York by Warrant from his Excellency George Washington, Esq., June 26, 1776; Washington to the Provost of the Army, June 28, 1776, Washington Papers, XIX.

[16] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II, 77, 83–84; III, 319, 326–327, 403–404.

During the campaign for statehood, after December, 1775, the leaders of every colony insisted upon moving forward in company with other colonies. With the exception of New York, each provincial congress or colonial assembly directly or indirectly instructed its delegates in Congress to vote for independence in concert with its partners. North Carolina, the first colony to authorize specifically a vote in Congress for statehood, instructed its delegates "to concur with the delegates of other colonies in declaring independence." Virginia on May 15, 1775, directed its delegation to present a pro-independence motion in Congress—another emphatic avowal of the need for united action.

## II

When Congress met on July 2 to consider the Lee Resolution, the Thirteen Colonies were still colonies, for the Resolution begins with the phrase, "these United Colonies." After the vote in favor of the Resolution, twelve of the thirteen were "Free and Independent States." In what sense were they free and independent? Were they now separate countries, each vested with all the powers of a sovereign nation? The Resolution does not say that they were either separate or sovereign. They were not separate because they remained in the Union, and they automatically became the United States. The Resolution clearly states the sense in which they were free and independent. They were free and independent of Britain. "*Resolved*, That these United Colonies are, and, of right, ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them, and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

In voting for the Lee Resolution the delegates of twelve colonies completed the collective act of creating twelve States. In theory, each delegation represented the people of its colony, and therefore the people of the colonies transformed them into States. The people who did this were the same people who, in September, 1774, had created the Union and who had later endowed it with many powers appropriate to a sovereign nation. Did the States come into being as fully sovereign nations? Did the creation of the States automatically dissolve the Union and withdraw the supporting authority from all the acts that had been adopted by Congress between September, 1774, and July 2, 1776? Did the creation of the States dissolve the Continental Army, disband Congress, repudiate the continental currency, recall Silas Deane from his mission to France, and nullify Washington's commission? Of course nothing of the sort occurred. The Union continued automatically: all its agencies retained their powers in undiminished vigor; all the unrepealed acts adopted by Congress before July 2 remained in force. Neither Congress nor any State bothered to reaffirm, ratify, or renew all the acts of the Union adopted before July 2. That was unnecessary because the Union had derived its authority from the same source that had created the States—the people of the Thirteen Colonies.

Could the people of one State, after July 2, have withdrawn from the Union the powers which, as colonists, they had joined in conferring upon it before the States came into being? From a practical point of view, such a withdrawal of powers was impossible. An effective union was still indispensably necessary to the winning of the war. It would have been irrational for the people of a colony to embrace statehood and then to withdraw from the Union the powers that were essential to realizing it. And if the people of a State had attempted to secede they would not have been free agents in the matter. In the Continental Association, which remained in force after July 2, the representatives of twelve colonies had warned that "we will have no trade, commerce, dealings or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province, in North-America, which shall . . . hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country."[17] From a moral point of view, withdrawal from the Union was also inadmissible. Consider in this connection the pledge given to Washington by Congress on June 17, 1775: "*Resolved unanimously* upon the question, Whereas, the delegates of all the colonies . . . have unanimously chosen George Washington, Esq. to be General and commander in chief . . . this Congress doth now declare, that they will maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, the said George Washington, Esqr., with their lives and fortunes in the same cause." Congress reinforced this pledge with a grant to Washington of broad powers when it approved his commission on June 17. It states: "We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be General and Commander in chief . . . And you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service."[18] Clearly this authority empowered him to take a coercive action against the people of a colony or State, if he should deem it to be for the good and welfare of the service.

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[17] *Ibid.*, I, 79.

The Declaration of Independence emphasized the importance of the Union in unmistakable terms. "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people . . . to assume among the powers of the earth . . . [a] separate and equal station." All the indictments of George III cite offenses against the people as a whole; none mentions a colony by name. There is also this statement of the authority for the Declaration: "We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States . . . do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare."

During the Revolutionary era, provincial congresses, colonial assemblies, state legislatures, and conventions adopted fifteen constitutions or other fundamental laws for the colonies or States. None of these acts declared any State to be fully sovereign. New Hampshire's second constitution specifically recognized existing grants of power to the Union.[19] Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina claimed, on an exclusive basis, only the right to regulate internal government and police.[20] None of the constitutions claimed for a state government such powers as were necessary to national defense and the conduct of foreign affairs. Ten of the constitutions provided for methods of electing delegates to the Continental Congress.[21] In these clauses the States expressed the principle that the Union was as durable as a state government, proclaimed that the enacting State was a permanent member, and recognized the fact that the Union was endowed with extensive powers.

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[18] *Ibid.*, II, 97, 96.

[19] *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws*, ed. Francis N. Thorpe, 7 vols. (Washington, 1909), IV, 2454.

[20] *Ibid.*, III, 1686; V, 3082, 2787.

## III

Alexander Stephens contended that, by means of the Articles of Confederation, thirteen full-fledged sovereign states had created a league of sovereign members and had conferred on Congress the powers it possessed before the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The Articles became legally effective on March 1, 1781. They raise two questions: what authority created the Articles, and what was the legal status of actions of the Union taken before March 1, 1781?

On these points the Articles assert: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled." This statement does not say that the States individually had possessed complete, unlimited sovereignty. The word "sovereignty" is linked with the word independence. Since each State, being joined with the other States in a perpetual Union, had only a limited independence, one infers that the sovereignty of a State was also limited. The statement does not deny that the Union had previously been vested by the people with many powers. It does not say that the powers possessed by Congress were delegated to it by the States. The delegating agency was "this Confederation."

What is meant by "this Confederation"? Presumably, it does not mean the Articles, because a document is not a confederation. It cannot mean the United States, because it is the Confederation that grants powers to the United States. It cannot be a name for the organization of the Union, because the Articles style it a "confederacy."

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[21] Delaware, *ibid.*, I, 564; Georgia, *ibid.*, II, 780; Maryland, *ibid.*, III, 1695; Massachusetts, *ibid.*, III, 1906; New Hampshire, *ibid.*, IV, 2467; New York, *ibid.*, V, 2634–35; North Carolina, *ibid.*, V, 2793; Pennsylvania, *ibid.*, V, 3085; South Carolina, *ibid.*, VI, 3253; and Virginia, *ibid.*, VII, 3817.

Suppose that the Articles had declared that all power resided in the several States and that they, by means of the Articles, were now endowing the Union with all its powers. What, then, would have been the legal status of the acts which Congress had performed between October, 1774, and the time the Articles became effective on March 1, 1781? What, for instance, would have been the legal status of the debts that Congress had contracted? The Articles recognized the validity of all debts contracted by Congress, "before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation." The Articles thus assert that the Confederation existed before the States. The phrase in the Articles, "this Confederation," did not denote a confederation of sovereign states, because the phrase applied to and embraced the United Colonies. Congress, in pursuance of "the present confederation," had contracted debts before the States "assembled." Since the Confederation could not have been, before July 2, 1776, a confederation of states, and since it could not have been, after July 2, 1776, a confederation of colonies, it was obviously a confederation of the people of both the colonies and the States. The people of the Union, considered as a unit, are the only common denominator that gives meaning to the phrase, "this Confederation," as used in the Articles. Since it was the Confederation that granted powers to the Union, it follows that the people as a whole created the Articles.

The treaty of alliance with France dispels the notion that, before the Articles were ratified, all sovereignty was vested in the several States. Article III of the treaty speaks of the United States as a unit, saying that it "shall . . . in its own part and in the manner it may judge most proper make all the efforts in its power." Article II states: "The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectively the . . . sovereignty . . . of the said United States."[22] Congress ratified the treaty on May 4, 1778. Thereby it asserted the sovereignty of the Union, and it did this thirty-four months before the Articles of Confederation went into effect.

The Independence treaty of 1783 with Britain defined some of the inland boundaries of eight of the States. Since votes of only nine States were necessary to ratification, it follows that any one of eight States might have had one or more of its boundaries determined without its consent. Such a legal possibility was hardly consistent with the idea of a fully sovereign state.

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[22] *Treaties between the United States of America and Foreign Nations*, ed. Richard Peters (Boston, 1857), p. 8.

The doctrine of state sovereignty drew its vitality from its bearings on the Federal Constitution. Did the several states, each possessing full and absolute sovereignty, enter into a compact by means of which they endowed the new government with its powers?

While the Constitution was being drafted and ratified the Articles of Confederation were still in effect. They enumerated twenty-six powers that were vested exclusively in Congress, and listed nineteen specific restraints upon the States. An unlimited sovereignty in an individual State certainly did not exist under the Articles.

J. Franklin Jameson once pointed out that Stephen Higginson appeared to be the first person to suggest that the Constitution should be established after it had been ratified by conventions of nine States.[23] The suggestion, of course, went into Article VII of the Constitution and was responsible for the fact that the Federal Government began to function under the Constitution before conventions in North Carolina and Rhode Island had ratified it. The Higginson plan potentially deprived any State of one very important right it possessed under the Articles of Confederation—the right to veto any change in the Articles. Actually, Rhode Island suffered the fate of having the Articles discarded without its consent. The process of ratification certainly did not treat Rhode Island as one would expect a sovereign state to be treated.

It is not known that South Carolinians in 1788–1790 protested against the indignity that was then inflicted on Rhode Island. Rhode Island did not ratify the Constitution until May 29, 1790. At that time the first Congress was considering the bill which became the Funding Act of August 4, 1790, which provided for the assumption of the debts of the States by the Union. It so happened that the debt of South Carolina was the largest to be assumed. Massachusetts made nearly as good a showing, with an assumed debt of only $17,918.68 less than South Carolina's. On a *per capita* basis, however, South Carolina led Massachusetts by about $28.50 to $8.50. Perhaps a telling argument for state sovereignty in South Carolina was the fact that its assumed debts equaled those of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New

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[23] "Letters of Stephen Higginson 1783–1804," ed. J. Franklin Jameson, American Historical Association, *Annual Report for . . . 1896*, I (1897), 708, 749.

York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia combined.[24]

The Higginson plan conformed to the statement in the preamble of the Constitution: "We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution." Once nine States had ratified, the Union would consist of the ratifying States. Each of them, in a convention, would have approved. Thus a majority of the people of each member State, and a majority of the people of all the member States, would have joined in establishing the Constitution.

One feature of the Constitution alone demolishes the fiction of state sovereignty—the clause that declares treaties made under the authority of the United States to be the supreme law of the land. In thus confirming the French-American Treaty of 1778, the Constitution gave to that Treaty's affirmation of the sovereignty of the United States the legal status of the supreme law of a unified nation.

## IV

Between October, 1774, and July, 1776, the people of the United Colonies, acting together, created the Union, conferred upon it many of the powers of a sovereign government, and endowed it with agencies for centralized action. All such agencies acquired their powers or authority many months before the States came into being. The Union made possible the creation of the States, and they derived their being from the source that had created the Union—the united people of the Thirteen Colonies. The Union was indispensably necessary to the creation of the States—since the act of creating a State was the act of separating from Britain, and that act could not have occurred without the Union. When the state governments came into being they possessed, at the start, only limited powers of sovereignty, since the people of the United Colonies had previously conferred many of the powers of sovereignty on the Union. After July 2, 1776, the Union automatically retained all the powers which the people had conferred upon it during the preceding months. The people then created the Articles of Confederation and in so doing confirmed the Union in the possession of the powers it had acquired and had exercised between September, 1774, and July 2, 1776. The process of ratifying the Constitution gave reality to the statement of the Preamble: "We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

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[24] Rafael Bayley, *The National Loans of the United States from July 4, 1776 to June 30, 1880* (Washington, 1881), p. 33.

Forty years ago it was customary to account for the forming of the Union by citing such precursors as the Confederation of New England, the Albany Congress, and the Stamp Act Congress. Far more important than such precedents was the fact that from its beginnings each colony was included within a union—that of the English or British imperium. Between 1689 and 1763 the colonies took part in four international wars. The central government of that time, Crown and Parliament, exercised a general directing authority in the spheres of diplomacy, military affairs, currency, naval operations, and the regulation of trade. In 1774–1776, the people of the United Colonies adopted a regime akin to that of the era of the Anglo-French conflict. They set up a new central government and endowed it with powers pertaining to war, trade, and diplomacy such as the British government had possessed and exercised; and they endowed the States with powers similar to those which the provincial governments had possessed and exercised before 1774. Like the colony before it, the State was never the possessor of a complete and unlimited sovereignty.

When dealing with matters pertaining to the Union, the people of all the colonies or States acted together, and the provincial or state governments provided the machinery for registering the popular approval. The requirement of unanimity—the assent of every state legislature or convention—gave assurance that a majority of the people of the Union would express their consent, at a time when other agencies for holding a national referendum were not available. Calhoun and Stephens spoke of the people as thirteen distinct entities, not as a unit, and held that the peoples of the several individual States had endowed the Union with its powers. When it is borne in mind that the people of the colonies were bound together, after 1774, in a continuing Union, is it not a play on words to say that, all together, they did not form one people?

After October, 1774, the Union possessed powers that could be exercised coercively against individuals and even against the governments of the colonies or States. Such a coercive power was implicit in the Continental Association, in the pledge to support Washington, in his commission as commander in chief, and in the Continental Articles of War, which authorized the Continental Army to inflict the death penalty upon citizens of States who had been convicted of crimes against the Union. Such a penalty could legally be inflicted on the soil of a State, and without the approval of the state authorities. Throughout the war Washington acted as commander in chief under the authority of a commission that was issued, not in the name of the States, but in the name of the United Colonies. By the Articles of Confederation the people decreed that only by a unanimous vote of the state legislatures could a State acquire powers which the people had granted to the Union. In ratifying the Constitution, the people endowed the Federal Government with the powers and resources needed for enforcing its constitutional measures upon the residents and officials of a State.

The Revolution of 1776 was an act of a substantial majority of the American people at the expense of a minority. The old imperial order failed because it threatened to become oppressive. A main difference between the new American Union and the old imperial regime was that Americans dominated the one, whereas they were wholly unrepresented in the central government of the other. Some defenders of attempted secession in 1860–1861 have justified it as a repetition of the resistance of 1776. There was, however, a difference. The colonists had not been represented at Westminster; in 1860, the southern white people were over-represented in Washington. The resistance of '76—a revolt against an arbitrary, unrepresentative government—succeeded and became a revolution; attempted secession—a revolt against a democratic, representative government—failed and remained a rebellion. Lincoln's wartime statements indicate that he understood the origins of the Union and of the States. He was right in regarding the people of the Union as its creator, the source of its authority, and the support by which it had to be maintained.

The conditions under which the Union and the States were born required, first, that the people of the colonies or States should act together in an effective union, and, secondly, that sovereignty should be lodged in the people as a whole, there being no other possible source, at a time when a great concerted popular effort was necessary to victory in a demanding war. Acting together, the people through their representatives created a central government and endowed it with many powers of sovereignty; acting as inhabitants of the several individual colonies or States they endowed the state governments with many powers of sovereignty. Sovereignty was lodged, not in the Union, considered as a government, or in the States, considered as political organizations, but in the whole people, who were linked together, as Washington put it in 1775, in an "indissoluble Union."

# Bunker Hill Re-viewed:

## A Study in the Conflict of Historical Evidence

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG*

DURING my years as a practicing lawyer, nothing fascinated me more than the conflict in testimony among witnesses seemingly desirous of telling the truth. Having switched from the law to writing history, I now find the conflict of historical evidence similarly fascinating.

One of the most striking examples of such conflict came to my attention after I agreed last summer to rewrite the article on Bunker Hill for the next edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* I rashly assumed that, drawing on the classic study of the battle in French's *First Year of the American Revolution,* supplemented by Frothingham's *Siege of Boston* and Murdock's *Bunker Hill,* I could do the piece in a day or two. But I found the evidence on many points so conflicting that the days lengthened into weeks. Some of the points that puzzled me are the subject of this paper.

1. *How many men did General Gage have in or near Boston on the morning of the battle, June 17, 1775?*

The only contemporaneous statement I have found precisely on this point is in a letter of July 27, 1775, from Washington to his brother John Augustine ("Jack") stating, "By very authentick Intelligence lately received out of Boston (from a Person who saw the returns), the number of Regulars (including I presume the Marines) the morning of the action on Bunker's Hill amounted to 7533 Men."[1]

Turning to the statements from the British side, there are two important letters of Howe and Burgoyne that must be noted.

Howe wrote his brother Admiral Lord Howe on June 12, "The fighting men, or Rank and File, we have here now amount to about 3,400. The 3 Battalions making the first Division . . . are coming into the Harbour; and may give us 1,100 in addition, which makes 4,500."[2]

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* This paper was read at the January, 1960, meeting and employs the style of annotation of the author's *Origin of the American Revolution: 1759–1766* (New York, 1960).

[1] *Washington* III 372.

[2] *Bunker Hill Assoc.* 114.

Burgoyne wrote Secretary of State Lord Rochford on June 25, "When the four battalions of the second embarkation [from Ireland] arrive (and they are expected daily, one vessel being come in), and such of the wounded men as we may expect speedily to recover have joined their regiments, our army will consist of about five thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers. If you, in England, reckon upon more, you are mistaken."[3]

There are several difficulties in trying to reconcile the figures in these two statements.

Howe writes in terms of "rank and file," Burgoyne in terms of "effective men." The former is a technical term for privates and corporals (excluding sergeants, fifers, and drummers, who constituted about eight per cent of the normal total enlisted strength).[4] "Effective men," on the other hand, is apparently not a technical term.[5] Though the context makes clear that Burgoyne intended to include only men fit for duty, it is not clear whether he intended to include all enlisted men fit for duty or only the rank and file.

Furthermore, while we know the number of the British killed and wounded at Bunker Hill,[6] we can only guess at the number of wounded who had returned to duty or were expected to do so soon when Burgoyne wrote on June 25.

Finally, though we know there were substantial additions to the British forces in Boston between June 17 and 25,[7] we can only guess at the number.

Assuming that Burgoyne meant to include all men fit for duty, and making the best guesses I can on the other two points, I find that Burgoyne's figure tallies pretty closely with Howe's and that both British accounts indicate there were approximately 4,500 rank and file at Boston on June 17.

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[3] Fonblanque *Burgoyne* 150.

[4] My statement on these points is based on inspection of contemporary returns of troops in the British War Office Papers at the Public Record Office, London. French's statement (739) that "rank and file" is synonymous with "privates" is incorrect; it included corporals, too.

[5] The term "effectives," it appears from returns of the period, was a technical term meaning those actually embodied in a regiment (whether fit for duty or not) as distinguished from the regiment's ideal strength. But "effective men" evidently was not used in this sense.

[6] The British lost 228 men killed and 826 wounded at Bunker Hill, Gage's return June 25, 1775, Frothingham *Siege* 389.

[7] Gage to Secretary of State Lord Dartmouth June 25, 1775, reporting the recent arrival of additional troops, *Gage* I 407.

Is it possible to reconcile this figure with Washington's figure of 7,533 men?

The method of computation used by Washington's informant may have differed from the British generals' in several respects. Washington's figure of "Men" may have comprised the entire enlisted personnel, including sergeants, fifers, and drummers, while, as we have seen, Howe and perhaps Burgoyne, spoke in terms of "rank and file." This would make a difference of about 400. Furthermore, Washington's figure may have included and the British figures excluded over 100 artillery[8] and the troops numbering perhaps as many as 500 stationed at Castle William in Boston harbor.[9] Finally, Howe and Burgoyne may have omitted the marines, numbering around 1,000 men,[10] which Washington assumed were included in his informant's figure, though this omission is harder to conceive of, because the marines were embodied with, and available for the same service as, the infantry at Boston. But even if all suggested differences in method of computation are assumed to have occurred, there remains a discrepancy of about 1,000.

Following a method of approach different from mine, French (207, 738–739) estimates the British troops at Boston on June 17, as about 6,400 men. But I find several of French's assumptions open to question.

All things considered, I thought it best to say only that the British forces at and near Boston on June 17, were from 4,900 men (the equivalent of 4,500 rank and file) to 7,500 men.

2. *What was the strength of the American army, or, more precisely, the allied New England armies, investing Boston on June 17?*

Here again the evidence is conflicting.

The diary for June 16, of Benjamin Guild, Jr., at Haverhill, later quoted in this paper, states "Saw her [Mrs. Sayer's] son a Capt. from our army who. . . . Said about 19,000 men drew provisions." Presumably those drawing provisions included officers and perhaps others besides enlisted men—for example, militia.

On June 28, Gen. Nathanael Greene, Commander-in-Chief of the

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[8] Artillery—178 men, French *First Year* 738.

[9] Men stationed at Castle William—Gage's return of troops July 19, 1775, *Gage* II 690–691.

[10] Marines—French *First Year* 738.

Rhode Island army, wrote Gov. Nicholas Cooke of Rhode Island enclosing a return giving the following estimate of the New England "Forces" then around Boston:

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|---|---|
| Massachusetts | 13,600 |
| Connecticut | 3,000 |
| New Hampshire | 1,800 |
| Rhode Island | 1,390 |
| *Total* | 19,790[11] |

If "forces" included officers, Greene's figure of 19,790 would have to be reduced by nearly 1,000 to equate "forces" with "men." Whether the additions between June 17 and June 28 exceeded the wastage of troops, including the losses at Bunker Hill, between these dates, I have no guess.

On July 20, Washington sent the President of the Continental Congress a return showing 16,770 men (including 1,108 sick). But returns of the artillery on July 20 and 21, give an additional 585 or a total of about 17,100.[12] I suppose that by this time the additional troops arriving after June 17, considerably exceeded the loss at Bunker Hill,[13] in which case the enlisted men at Boston on June 17, would have been less than 17,000.

French states (86) that "not three fifths" of 30,000 New England men, i.e., something less than 18,000, were around Boston on June 17, and I think this is as sound and definite a statement as the evidence warrants.

3. *How many men were in the detachment sent out under Col. William Prescott of Massachusetts on the evening of June 16 to fortify the Charlestown peninsula?*

The evidence on this point is sharply conflicting, as will be seen by the following statements:

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[11] Greene's letter of June 28, 1775, is in "Cooke" 250–251.

[12] Washington's letter of July 20, 1775, is in *Washington* III 346–352. The return referred to there is doubtless the one dated "July 1775" published in 4 *Force* II 1630, where returns of the artillery as of July 20 and 21 are also published.

[13] Washington wrote his brother John Augustine July 27, 1775, that "Our loss [at Bunker Hill] was 138 killed, 36 Missing, and 276 Wounded," *Washington* III 372. Of course, a certain amount of wastage from desertion and disease would also have to be allowed for between June 17 and July 20.

Gen. Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island at Roxbury to Gov. Nicholas Cooke, June 18, "about three hundred," "Cooke" 235.

Thomas Boynton, a Massachusetts soldier at camp, diary for June 16, "about a 1000 men," "Boynton's Journal," *M. H. S. Proc.* 1876–77, 254–255.

Col. John Stark of New Hampshire at Medford to the New Hampshire Congress, June 19, "about twenty-five hundred men of the *Massachusetts* forces" (no mention of any Connecticut troops), 4 *Force* II 1029.

Capt. John Chester of Connecticut at Cambridge to his brother-in-law Joseph Webb, June 19, "1800 of the province Massachusetts men and 200 of Connecticut men," Frothingham *Siege* 415 (repeated by Chester in a letter supposedly to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, *ibid.* 389).

Massachusetts Congress at Watertown to Continental Congress, June 20, "about twelve hundred men," 4 *Force* II 1040.

Diary of Ezra Stiles, Newport, Rhode Island, June 23, recording report brought from "the Camp" by William Ellery, William Channing, and others, "fifteen hundred," *Stiles Diary* I 576.

Diary of Ezra Stiles, Newport, Rhode Island, June 30, recording report brought from Cambridge by Rev. John Martin, "about 1500," *ibid.* I 578.

Report of Massachusetts Committee of Safety, July 25, "1000 men," Frothingham *Siege* 382.

Prescott to John Adams, August 25, "a party of about one thousand men, consisting of three hundred of my own regiment, Colonel Bridge and Lieut. Brickett, with a detachment of theirs, and two hundred Connecticut forces, commanded by Captain Knowlton," *ibid.* 395.

In view of Prescott's statement that his force was "about one thousand men" and the corroboration of this figure by Boynton's journal entry of June 16, and by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety's report of July 25, I adopted this figure, despite the other evidence of the detachment's having been considerably larger.

4. *Why did Prescott fortify Breed's rather than Bunker Hill?*

As brought out by documents published in Martyn *Ward* facing 118, both the Massachusetts Committee of Safety and the Council of

War resolved on June 15, to fortify Bunker Hill. Why then was Breed's Hill chosen?

French states (215–216) that at a conference on the Charlestown peninsula the night of the sixteenth Putnam, the only general officer present, favored fortifying Breed's Hill, that he "overbore all opposition," and thus "it happened that the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought upon Breed's."

This statement implies that (1) Prescott's initial orders were to fortify Bunker Hill; and that (2) he fortified Breed's instead, under the orders or influence of Putnam.

So far as I know, the only contemporary documents bearing on these points are the following:

Samuel Gray to "Mr. Dyer," July 12, stating, "I am informed that, in a council of war, it was determined to intrench on Charlestown [Breed's] Hill and on Dorchester Hill the same night, but not till we were so supplied with powder, etc. as to be able to defend the posts . . . that on Friday [June 16] a resolution was suddenly taken to intrench the night following, without any further council thereon; that the engineer [Colonel Gridley] and two generals went on to the hill at night and reconnoitered the ground; that one general and the engineer were of opinion we ought not to intrench on Charlestown Hill till we had thrown up some works on the north and south ends of Bunker Hill, to cover our men in their retreat, if that should happen, but on the pressing importunity of the other general officer, it was consented to begin as was done."[14]

The Massachusetts Committee of Safety to the colony's London Agent, July 25, stating, "Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the further part of the peninsula next to Boston, for, by some mistake, this hill was marked out for the intrenchment" instead of "Bunker's Hill" as was previously "determined."[15]

Prescott to John Adams, August 25, stating, "I received orders to march to Breed's Hill in Charlestown," *ibid.* 395.

It seems to me unclear from the above statements when and by whom the order to fortify Breed's rather than Bunker Hill was given; and there is no apparent basis for stating that Putnam was responsible for the change.

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[14] Samuel Gray to a Mr. Dyer, July 12, 1775, Frothingham *Siege* 394–395. I think probably the writer was Squire Samuel Gray of Windham, Connecticut, and the addressee, Eliphalet Dyer, also of Windham.

[15] Massachusetts Committee to Arthur Lee, July 25, 1775, Frothingham *Siege* 385 enclosing a report of the same date, *ibid.* 382–385 at 382.

I concluded that one could say only that by some mistake (who made the mistake or who gave the order is unknown) Prescott was ordered to fortify Breed's rather than Bunker Hill.

5. *How many men were in Howe's attacking force?*

The evidence on this point again is sharply conflicting, as appears from the following statements:

David Cheever of the Massachusetts Committee of Supply to Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, June 18, "About 3000 Troops," "Cooke" 237.

Diary of Benjamin Guild, Jr., quoted later, June 18, "About 2,500 regulars."

James Warren to John Adams, June 20, "2000" to "5000," Frothingham "Remarks" 79–80.

[John Bromfield to Jeremiah Powell?] June 21, "3 to 6000," "Newbury Port letter," *M. H. S. Proc.* 1869–70, 227.

Howe to Lord Howe, June 22, "about 2,200 Rank and File," *Bunker Hill Assoc.* 120.

Stiles's diary for June 23, recording report of Ellery and Channing, "Putnam says he judged the Regulars were Three Thousand," *Stiles Diary* I 576.

Howe to Adj. Gen. Edward Harvey, June 22 and 24, "about 2200 Rank and File, with Six Field pieces, two Light 12 pounders and two Howitzers," Fortescue *Geo. III* III 221.

Gage to Lord Dartmouth, June 25, "something above 2000 Men," *Gage* I 406.

Stiles's diary for June 30, recording statement of Rev. John Martin, 4,000 to 5,000 "Troops," *Stiles Diary* I 579.

Peter Brown to his mother, June 23, "about 3000 of them," *ibid.* 595.

Massachusetts Committee of Safety to Arthur Lee, July 25, "3000 men," Frothingham *Siege* 384.

Two additional units not mentioned in Howe's letter to his brother were sent by Gage to his support, and should at least be mentioned even if, strictly speaking, they were not part of the force.

In his letter to his brother giving his numbers at "about 2,200 Rank and File" Howe omitted these units, which are mentioned in the following statements:

Howe to Gage, June 21, "P. S. The 63rd battalion [and] 2nd marines could not get to the field in time to have their share of the success though they marched with the utmost haste as soon as they were landed," Belcher *First Am. Civil War* I 198.

Burgoyne to Stanley, June 25, "two battalions had been sent to reenforce them, but we perceived them on the beach seeming in embarrassment what way to march. *Clinton* . . . took the part without waiting for orders, to throw himself into a boat to head them; he arrived in time to be of service," 4 *Force* II 1095.

Boston letter of July 5, "We should have been forced to retire, if General Clinton had not come up with a reinforcement of 5 or 600 men. This re-established the left under Pigot, and saved our honour," Adams "The Howes" 103.

Clinton to Gage, October 9, "When Wm. Howe gave me an opportunity of saying how I wished to be represented, I said that it could be so worded that G. C. [General Clinton], thinking he might be of some use passed the river after the reinforcement, assembled what he could and conducted them to G. H. [General Howe], that I should be satisfied. Was that saying too much Sir: was it not saying rather too little," Clinton Papers, W. L. Clements Library.

In line with Howe's letters to his brother and to General Harvey, French gives the attacking force as about 2,300, after adding an estimated 100 men for the artillery (223 and 223*n.*). In view of the statements just quoted, I think the evidence requires more extended statement, namely, that Howe's force engaged in the attack was about 2,300 rank and file not counting 500 or 600 troops sent over late in the day who spirited up the attacking force even if they arrived too late to share in the fighting.

### 6. *How many American troops took part in the battle?*

British reports place the total number of Americans in the battle as high as between 14,000 and 15,000 men; the American reports, as low as 500, as will be seen by the following statements:

Col. Lord Percy at Boston to his father, the Duke of Northumberland, June 19, "between 14 and 15000 men," *Percy* 56.

Isaac Lathrop at Watertown to unidentified correspondent, June 22, "about five hundred men," 4 *Force* II 1089.

J. Waller at Boston to Jacob Waller, June 22, "five thousand to seven thousand men," Drake *Bunker Hill* 28.

Samuel Paine at Boston to William Paine, June 22, 10,000, *Hist. Mag.* Second Series III 441.

Rev. Ezra Stiles at Newport, diary for June 23, reporting statement of Ellery and Channing, "fifteen hundred at first and 700 afterwards," *Stiles Diary* I 576.

A merchant at Boston to his brother in Scotland, June 24, "nine thousand strong," 4 *Force* II 1079.

Burgoyne to Lord Palmerston, June 25, "three or four times as many Americans as British," Connell *Golden Age* 119.

Letter from Boston to a Gentleman in Scotland, June 25, 6,600 in the front lines and "some thousands . . . on the hill behind," 4 *Force* II 1094.

Gage to Lord Dunmore, June 26, "over three times" the British force of "two thousand men," i.e., over 6,000, *ibid.* 1107.

Stiles's diary entry for June 30, reporting statement of Rev. John Martin, who was in the battle, "nearly three thousand," *Stiles Diary* I 581.

Massachusetts Committee of Safety to Arthur Lee, July 25, "about 1500 men," Frothingham *Siege* 384.

Washington wrote George William Fairfax, July 25, that he had "assurances" there had been not over 1,500 men, *Washington* III 365, but he gave no opinion as to the accuracy of this figure.

It is impossible to reach any conclusion from this welter of conflicting evidence. I therefore adopted Murdock's rough estimate (78) of "nearly 3500 men," based on a method of computation which seems reasonable. New Hampshire and Connecticut men in the battle are known to have numbered about 1,000. Their casualties were 131 or roughly 13% of the men engaged. The number of Massachusetts men engaged is unknown; but their casualties are known to have been 310. Assuming that the proportion of casualties to men engaged was the same for Massachusetts as for the other two colonies gives about 2,400 Massachusetts engaged or an aggregate for the three colonies (there were no Rhode Island units in the batttle) of about 3,400.

7. *What were the British casualties?*

There was a wide range of figures as to British casualties, ranging from an estimate of only about 100 killed (with "many" wounded) in Percy to the Duke of Northumberland, June 19,[16] to at least 1,500 casualties, of whom about 1,200 were "killed or mortally wounded," in the Massachusetts Committee of Safety's report of July 25.[17] But I have not bothered to marshal and analyze the conflicting reports on this point since we have an official report by Gage, on June 25, of 228 British killed or died of wounds and 826 wounded and surviving, which I have no doubt is accurate.[18]

8. *What were the American casualties?*

Here again there were widely conflicting reports, ranging from Ellery and Channing's of June 23, estimating total American casualties of 70,[19] to Percy's estimate of over 300 killed besides an unstated number of wounded.[20] But here again there is no occasion for reviewing the conflicting reports. Washington wrote to his brother Jack on July 27, reporting the American loss as 138 killed, 36 missing, and 276 wounded,[21] and, I have no doubt, this is approximately, if not precisely, accurate.

9. *How long did the battle last?*

On this point French states (254) that there is only one account "which undertakes to give the hours of the fight" and this account says it took "about four hours." This statement is inaccurate. There are several reports mentioning the hours when the battle began and ended or its duration, and here again the evidence is sharply conflicting:

Amos Farnsworth's diary for June 17, "about 2 Hours," "Farnsworth Diary" 83.

Rev. Andrew Eliot at Boston to Isaac Smith, Jr., June 19, "About three o'clock, the engagement began, and lasted perhaps an hour," Dexter "Eliot Letters" 288.

Massachusetts Congress at Watertown to Continental Congress, June 20, "About two the enemy began to land . . . and immediately marched to our intrenchments. . . . At five o'clock the enemy were in full possession of all the posts within the isthmus," 4 *Force* II 1040.

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[16] Percy's letter, *Percy* 57.

[17] Massachusetts Committee of Safety report, Frothingham *Siege* 384.

[18] Gage's report, *ibid.* 389.

[19] Ellery and Channing's report, *Stiles Diary* I 576.

[20] Percy's letter, *Percy* 57.

[21] Washington to John Augustine Washington, July 27, 1775, *Washington* III 372.

Officer in Boston to a friend in London, June 23, "The engagement lasted upwards of four hours," *ibid.* 1068.

Letter from Boston to a gentleman in Scotland, June 25, "All this they accomplished in about four hours, having entire possession of the *Neck* by six o'clock," *ibid.* 1094.

Rev. Ezra Stiles's diary, June 23, recording statement of William Ellery and William Channing, "four hours," *Stiles Diary* I 576.

Isaac Lathrop at Watertown to unidentified correspondent, June 22, "about an hour," 4 *Force* II 1089.

John Winthrop at Cambridge to John Adams, June 25, "above an hour," 5 *M. H. S. Coll.* IV 292.

Stiles's diary, June 30, recording statement of Rev. John Martin, "They began the attack about II h., and the whole affair lasted till between V and VI," *Stiles Diary* I 579.

John Chester at Cambridge probably to Rev. Joseph Fish, July 22, "thirty-five minutes with the musquetry," i.e., exclusive of the cannonading that had gone before, Frothingham *Siege* 390.

Massachusetts Committee of Safety at Watertown to Arthur Lee, July 25, "about an hour," *ibid.* 384.

Account by an unidentified writer in *Rivington's Gazette*, August 3, "the fire continued with small arms sixty-one minutes," *ibid.* 397.

Prescott to John Adams, August 25, "We kept the fort about an hour and twenty minutes after the attack with small arms," *ibid.* 396.

I am unable to reconcile these statements even though some of the discrepancies can be explained by whether the battle is defined as beginning when the British troops began to land on the Charlestown peninsula, when the British completed their landing, or when the armies engaged. Hence, my statement on this point was that, starting about 2 P.M., when the British began landing troops on Charlestown peninsula, the battle lasted three to four hours.

10. *What parts did Gens. Joseph Warren and Israel Putnam play in the battle?*

Boston letters of June 25[22] and July 5,[23] and Burgoyne to Lord

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[22] Letter from Boston to a gentleman in Scotland, June 25, 1775, 4 *Force* II 1094.

[23] Letter from Boston, July 5, 1775, Adams "The Howes" 102.

Palmerston, June 25, speak of Warren as having commanded in the redoubt,[24] and the Rev. Andrew Eliot, in Boston, wrote on June 19, "It is said that he [Warren] had the chief direction of the defence."[25]

These statements, it will be observed, all came from within the British lines, where it was undoubtedly thought that Warren, whose corpse was found on the field of battle, was in command. But not one of the many American reports of Warren's participation in the battle speaks of his having had or exercised command,[26] and I am persuaded by this negative evidence that, as historians have usually said,[27] he acted solely as a volunteer without command.

As to Putnam, several contemporary accounts credit him with commanding the American defence.

Samuel Bixby, a Massachusetts soldier (though not in the detachment sent out under Prescott), jotted down in his diary for June 17, "Col. [General] Putnam with a large party went on to a hill in Charlestown, called Bunker's Hill, last night to entrench, and this morning . . . heavy fire was opened at Col. Putnam from the ships."[28] Also on June 18 General Greene wrote from the right wing of the New England army, stationed at Roxbury, "The Action began Yesterday at Bunker's Hill—about day break General Putnam had taken post there and flung up an entrenchment, with a detachment of about three hundred."[29] The supposition that Putnam commanded was still held at Roxbury as late as June 20, as appears from a letter from there of that date from Samuel Ward, Jr., to his sister, stating, "Putnam had a sore Battle seventh day, lost near two hundred Men."[30] Likewise, a letter from Providence of June 20 states that "On the evening of the 16th, Colonel *Putnam* took possession of *Bunker's Hill*, with about two thousand men";[31] and *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer* of June 29 reported that "Putnam on the evening of the 16th inst. took possession of Bunker's Hill and began an intrenchment."

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[24] Burgoyne's letter, Connell *Golden Age* 119.

[25] Rev. Andrew Eliot to Isaac Smith, Jr., June 19, 1775, Dexter "Eliot Letters" 288.

[26] For example, James Warren to John Adams, June 20, 1775, *Warren-Adams Letters* I 63. Frothingham *Warren* 516 cites a letter of July 7, 1775, from John Williams Austin to an unidentified correspondent for the statement "he [Warren] gave his orders with a surprising coolness." But Frothingham includes no such letter in his marshaling of contemporary correspondence in his *Siege* 372–416, and I have been unable to find the letter.

[27] Notably, *Heath's Memoirs* (1904 edn.) 28; Frothingham *Siege* (1896 edn.) 163; Murdock *Bunker Hill* (1927) 53; French *First Year* (1934) 229.

[28] Entry in Samuel Bixby's diary, June 17, 1775, Frothingham "Remarks" 287.

[29] Greene to Gov. Nicholas Cooke, June 18, 1775, "Cooke" 235.

[30] Letter of Samuel Ward, Jr., Knollenberg *Ward* 52.

Nevertheless, the truth seems to be that, although Putnam probably was on the Charlestown peninsula for a time on the night of June 16, and certainly was there part of the day of the seventeenth, he did not command or attempt to take command.

General Ward's letter to John Adams on October 30, "there has been no one action with the enemy which has not been conducted by an officer of this colony, except that at Chelsea, which was conducted by General Putnam,"[32] has great weight with me, and I am also impressed by the following statement recorded by Stiles on June 23, of what William Ellery and William Channing reported after talking over the battle with Putnam himself at camp. He was not, they said, "at Bunkers Hill at the beginning but soon repaired thither and was in the heat of the Action, till towards Night when he went away to fetch this Reinforcement [a reinforcement which hesitated to cross the Charlestown isthmus under British cannon fire]. . . . Soon after and before he could return, our Men began to retreat."[33] This report seems to imply that Putnam himself indicated he had not assumed command during the battle.

Though tangential to a paper dedicated to a study of conflict in historical evidence, I cannot resist touching on two minor points relating to the battle which puzzled me; not because of conflict of evidence but because I could find no contemporary evidence whatever in support of the traditional statements on these points.

The first is whether the seventeenth was a sunny day in Boston. French *First Year* (219, 237) speaks of "the hot sun beating down" on Prescott's men, of the British "bayonets gleaming," and of "the sun, still [so] high" as not to "dazzle the men on either side." Frothingham *Siege* (140) speaks of the "burning sun" on the day of the battle, and Murdock *Bunker Hill* (60) of the "first glow of dawn reddening the cloudless east." But Murdock alone documents this description, and the document cited by him, Peter Brown's well-known letter of June 25,[34] says nothing about a cloudless sky or, indeed, anything of the weather. Nor have I found any statement elsewhere that it was a sunny day in Boston.

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[31] Providence letter of June 20, 1775, 4 *Force* II 1036.

[32] Gen. Artemas Ward's letter, Frothingham *Siege* 397.

[33] Ellery and Channing statement, *Stiles Diary* I 576. The question of whether Putnam was in command at Bunker Hill is discussed in detail in Swett *Who Was the Commander* and Frothingham *Command.*

I have no doubt the day was not rainy. The Americans' very heavy fire, as to which there is ample evidence, and which would have been impossible if the men were having difficulty in keeping their powder dry, would be sufficient evidence of this. And the mention of the men in the redoubt being "almost suffocated with dust"[35] and of their having nothing to drink all day but rum confirms this conclusion.[36] But until further evidence of the weather turns up, I prefer to say simply that the seventeenth in Boston was a rainless day.[37]

My second question concerns the presence of Gen. Seth Pomeroy in the battle.

In his famous *History*, the Rev. William Gordon wrote "General Warren joins the Massachusetts forces in one place, and General Pomeroy in another."[38] Since that time, Pomeroy's participation in the battle as a volunteer like Warren has been mentioned again and again,[39] and is taken for granted by Frothingham and French.[40] But in the mass of contemporary accounts of the battle, I have not seen any mention of Pomeroy, and I am therefore extremely skeptical of his having been present at all.

In closing, I have the pleasure to read you entries from June 16 to 19, 1775, of an unpublished diary in this Society's collections previously mentioned in this paper, which Malcolm Freiberg, its Editor of Publications, called to my attention. It is the diary[41] of Benjamin

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[34] Brown's letter, *Stiles Diary* I 595–596. The original of this letter is now at the Society.

[35] "Almost suffocated with dust," "Newbury Port letter" 226, June 21, 1775, probably from John Bromfield to Jeremiah Powell, *M. H. S. Proc.* 1869–70, 225.

[36] Brown's letter, *Stiles Diary* I 595.

[37] Since I wrote this sentence, Malcolm Freiberg sent me an entry for June 17, 1775, of "Fair, hot" in Jeremy Belknap's annotated copy of *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanac For . . . 1775* in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Belknap was in or near Dover, New Hampshire, on June 17, and it seems likely, since it was fair at Dover, that it was fair at Charlestown, too.

[38] Gordon *History* (1794 edn.) I 253.

[39] For example, John Adams to an unidentified correspondent, June 19, 1818, Frothingham *Siege* 173; sketch of Pomeroy in *Pomeroy* 164–165.

[40] Frothingham *Siege* 136, 152, 173; French *First Year* 229.

[41] See the record of the January Meeting, 1958, below.

Guild, Jr., A.B., Harvard, 1769, who, I learn from Clifford K. Shipton, was keeping school in Wrentham and preaching in Clapboard Trees Parish in Dedham in 1775. Guild was later (1776–1780) a tutor at Harvard and became a well-known bookseller in Boston and a Fellow of the American Academy.

## DIARY OF BENJAMIN GUILD, JR.

June 16 Fryday

Studied some. Some Soldiers from [New] Hamshire went by about this time. In the afternoon rode out with Mrs. Barnard to Mrs. Sayer's. She was pretty bad. Saw her son a Capt. from our army who was poorly. Said about 19,000 men drew provisions. Wrote some letters and went down to Dr. Johonnot's to send them. Set up some time with Mr. Barnard and Miss Nancy.

June 17. Saturday.

The Regulars in Boston had been heard to drink success to this day. Studied a little. Just as it began to grow dark we discover'd a fire to the South. It seem'd to rage very high till 9 or 10 when it seemd to cease. We concluded it was Charlston. Some of the family said they heard guns in the morning. I was very much concern'd. Mr. Sayer came over and asked if any Charlston people were present which frightend Miss Nancy, as she was fearful of Bad news. Was very desirous to know the consequence.

June 18. Sabbath.

Heard Charlston was all in Ashes and that our men were driven from Bunkers Hill with considerable loss. That one man (Pollard) had his head shot off early in the morning. Attended meeting but was confused. Expected to hear something more particular at noon but did not. Preach'd all Day, and just after the forenoon sermon began some body was called out by one who came up after powder, which made one and another rise and go out till there was a pretty general muster. Near half went out. I stayed till they soon returnd, finding nothing the matter. Went on again as usual. After meeting at night I heard the regulars had drove our people from Breed's and Bunker's hill. Our men went down on fryday evening and entrenchd in the night upon Breed's hill. As soon as day broke they were fired upon from Cop's Hill, 3 ships of war, viz. the Lively in the ferry-ways, the Summerset below and Glasgow above and from floating batteries from the mill dam. Several people slept in Charlston and were passing and repassing till 9 o'clock. Then a heavy fire began. About 2,500 regulars landed in open view of Breed's Hill while 1500 others made a feint of landing at Phipp's farms. After forming they march'd direct for our intrenchment. Our men had 3 plattoons upon them before they returned the fire: but they rush'd up and forcd the entrenchment. Our men, after a warm engagment, retreated with the loss of about an hundred killed and wounded. Dr. Warren was killd. Major McClerry and several officers of note. John Eaton, and Lt. [?]

Peck of Haverhill. Capt. Johnson drank Coffee with us, who said he saw the fire and fight from Winter Hill.

June 19. Monday.

Heard that of our men there was near 150 or 200 killed and wounded. That many were killed upon the neck. That some fought bravely and some were cowards. That our men had chiefly despersd from Cambridge and were entrenching in various places. Spent the evening at Mr. Seargeant's. Heard that the Capt. of our artilerry did not behave valiantly. Some suspected him of treachery. The regulars came so close into our entrenchment as to run some through with their bayonets. Set some and talk with Miss Nancy.

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# Ezra Stiles and Timothy Dwight

## EDMUND S. MORGAN*

EZRA STILES was President of Yale from 1778 to 1795. He was a man of strong likes and dislikes. He liked Newport, Rhode Island, Yale College, and men of learning everywhere. He disliked Baptists, Quakers, Anglicans, and Timothy Dwight.

Timothy Dwight was President of Yale from 1795 to 1817. He was a man of strong likes and dislikes. He liked Greenfield, Connecticut, Yale College, and everyone who liked him. He disliked deists, democrats, and—apparently—Ezra Stiles.

My purpose is not to assess the relative merits or demerits of these two men but rather to scrutinize the evidence for a judgment commonly passed on them by historians. My purpose, in other words, is not biographical but historiographical—to clear away some historical misconceptions that have hitherto prevented a proper evaluation of the two men.

The judgment of historians, often reiterated, is that Timothy Dwight rescued Yale from a condition of infidelity and decay in which his predecessor, Ezra Stiles, had left it. When Stiles died in 1795, one gathers from the historians, Yale was in pretty bad shape: student morale was low, discipline archaic and ineffective, teaching uninspired, and worst of all, religious infidelity was rampant among the students. Timothy Dwight changed all this. Dwight was the great opponent of infidelity. He argued and inspired and disciplined the students into a glowing body of zealous, though not fanatical, Christians. Student morale went up; learning went up; and deism went down.[1]

The Yale episode has assumed a more than local significance in American religious history as an epitome of what shortly took place on the national scene. Christianity was at a low ebb in the 1790's, but about the turn of the century it took on new life. Led by Dwight and men like him, the revival of 1800 broke the back of deism and ushered in a half century of evangelical Christianity.

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* This paper was read at the March, 1958, meeting.

[1] See Gustav A. Koch, *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason* (New York, 1933), pp. 239–242, 254; Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775–1818* (Washington, 1918), pp. 25–29; Charles R. Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven, 1942), pp. 7–8, 17–18; Charles E. Cuningham, *Timothy Dwight* (New York, 1942), pp. 177–180, 300–301; William W. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture* (New York, 1952), pp. 147–148.

Such, I believe, is the accepted view, and historians have offered much testimony to support it. Their first witness, who sets the tone for those that follow, is a very lively, likable, and talkative old man named Lyman Beecher, who was a freshman and sophomore at Yale under Stiles and a junior and senior under Dwight. He knew both men and was therefore qualified to compare them. One day in the 1850's he did so, while sitting in the comfortable Boston house of his daughter, Harriet Beecher Stowe. He was dictating his autobiography, a rambling series of reminiscences, and his children had gathered in Harriet's house to listen and write it down. After he died, several years later, they published it; and when scholars began to write the history of American religion, they discovered it with sheer joy. The old man had spoken, as he lived, with gusto; and his words enlivened the drab story of controversies that had lost their point for a later generation. The historians quoted him freely and effectively, and one of the passages they quoted to greatest effect was his description of his undergraduate years at Yale:

> In my Sophomore year (September, 1794-'5) I did comparatively little. . . . In May of this year Dr. Stiles died, and Dr. Dwight became President at the next Commencement. He had the greatest agency in developing my mind.
>
> Before he came college was in a most ungodly state. The college church was almost extinct. Most of the students were skeptical, and rowdies were plenty. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms; intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common. I hardly know how I escaped. . . .
>
> That was the day of the infidelity of the Tom Paine school. Boys that dressed flax in the barn, as I used to, read Tom Paine and believed him; I read, and fought him all the way. Never had any propensity to infidelity. But most of the class before me were infidels, and called each other Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, etc. etc.
>
> They thought the Faculty were afraid of free discussion. But when they handed Dr. Dwight a list of subjects for class disputation, to their surprise he selected this: "Is the Bible the word of God?" and told them to do their best.
>
> He heard all they had to say, answered them, and there was an end. He preached incessantly for six months on the subject, and all infidelity skulked and hid its head.[2]

The impression given here of the unhappy and ungodly condition at Yale under Ezra Stiles and its rescue by Timothy Dwight was heightened by other passages describing the college's decrepit philosophical apparatus and the inability of Stiles to make the students behave.[3]

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[2] Lyman Beecher, *Autobiography*, ed. Charles Beecher (New York, 1864–65), I, 43.

Few historians of American religion have overlooked these passages, and those interested particularly in the history of Yale and Connecticut have found other evidence to confirm what Beecher said. Matthew R. Dutton, who had been a tutor for four years under Dwight, was even more decided in his opinion than Beecher. In a brief biography written after Dwight's death he wrote:

> The College, when he came to its presidency, was in a dreadful state of disorder, impiety and wickedness. Infidelity was so common, and so generally thought to be an indication of genius and spirit, that an aspiring, ambitious youth hardly dared avow his belief in the Christian religion. Neither was this spirit confined to the walls of college. It prevailed alarmingly in the state and perhaps through the union. . . . Doctor Dwight, with his constitutional ardour and intrepidity threw himself into the gap, and stayed the progress of this overflowing scourge. . . . The effect of this part of his labours in college, is evident from one fact. For many years before his death, no person dared openly express the sentiments of infidelity in that seminary, lest he should be despised by his comrades, for stupidity, ignorance and depravity.
>
> His labours were not less effectual, to purify the morals of the institution over which he watched with the affection and anxiety of a father. Several cases of exemplary punishment, at first, and a regular course of unwavering discipline afterwards, accompanied by the influence of moral persuasion and divine truth, changed that college, through the blessing of God, from a sink of moral and spiritual pollution into a residence not only of science and literature, but of morality and religion, a nursery of piety and virtue, a fountain, whence has issued streams to make glad the city of our God.[4]

The Reverend Gardiner Spring, in a funeral oration on Dwight, made the same point. "It is a fact not to be denied," he said, "that at the time Dr. Dwight entered upon this official charge, the College was in a state of lamentable declension. Its funds were low, its policy not the most happy, its numbers small, and its morals corrupt."[5]

Even more impressive than the reminiscences of old men are the letters of students written on the scene at the very time when Dwight took over from Stiles. The most striking of those that have survived is from Timothy Bishop (class of 1796) to Thomas Robbins, a classmate who transferred to Williams in his senior year:

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[3] *Ibid.*, I, 39–41.

[4] Matthew R. Dutton, A Sketch of the Life and Character of Doct. Dwight (Yale University Library). Parts of the passage given here are quoted in Keller, *Second Great Awakening*, pp. 17, 25.

[5] Keller, *Second Great Awakening*, pp. 7–8.

> You will easily suppose that since Dr. Dwight, a person so different from his predecessor, has been elected by the united voice of the electors, to the supreme authority, affairs have taken a quite different situation from what they were under Dr. Stiles, the government of college at present possessing more energy and claiming greater respect which however was not owing altogether to the neglect of Dr. Stiles but to his great age.
>
> The character of Dr. Dwight is remarkable, he is the most fitted and the best qualified both for the instruction and government of this college that could be obtained. . . . We now see the advantages of having an able director at the head of affairs one whose commands are energetic, respected and obeyed; for if the tree is corrupt so also will be the branches. It is surprising to see what a difference there is in the behaviour of the students since last year; at present there is no card playing, at least very little of it, no nightly revellings, breaking tutors windows, breaking glass bottles etc., but all is order and quietness, more so I believe than was ever known for any length of time in this college.
>
> The senior year formerly you know was but of very little use to the students, except only for reading the studies being of small importance having but only one recitation a day but in consequence of the new regulations it has become of as much importance as any of the four years. We have two recitations a day read disputes as was usual junior year; and four compositions a week, and six speak weekly.[6]

Other classmates wrote to Robbins in much the same terms during the first year of Dwight's presidency. Henry Belden chided Robbins for leaving and told him that Dwight was "just such a man as every one would wish himself to be."[7] Charles Denison thought that "college has not, since I have been a member of it, been in so good a situation as it has during this term. . . . All college are perfectly pleased with the President. Our class has two recitations each day. . . . The Pulpit is at present supplied by Dr. Dwight, which you may be sure is not displeasing to the students."[8] Benjamin Silliman, also of the class of 1796, and later to become Yale's Professor of Chemistry and Natural History, likewise expressed great satisfaction with the new administration. "The President," he wrote his mother, "gives universal satisfaction; college is in fine order; commons are decent; the weather is fine; and we have every opportunity for improvement which we can wish."[9]

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[6] January 11, 1796, Robbins Papers (Connecticut Historical Society). Parts of the passage given here and also parts of the other letters to Robbins are quoted in Cuningham, *Dwight*, pp. 177–180, and in Keller, *Second Great Awakening*, p. 25.

[7] April 15, 1796, Robbins Papers.

[8] January 4, 1796, Robbins Papers.

Historians, reading such letters, have found in them ample support for the story told by Beecher, and indeed the case appears to be an obvious one: Stiles, though a learned man, must have been unsuccessful as a college president, and Dwight, in that respect at least, his superior. The evidence, to all appearances, is overwhelming. But appearances in this case are deceiving.

We might begin our examination of the evidence by noticing that Lyman Beecher's memory was faulty in some details: it can be demonstrated, for example, that the philosophical apparatus which he made so much fun of was relatively new.[10] But we all know that memories are tricky and subject to error in much less than fifty years' time. The surprising thing is that Beecher was probably right about two important matters: the college church *was* near to extinction when Ezra Stiles died, and Timothy Dwight probably *did* allow the students to discuss the question whether the Bible was the word of God. Where Beecher erred and where historians have erred more grievously in following him, was in the significance attached to these two facts. By placing them in their context we may perceive that the situation at Yale in the 1790's was not quite what Beecher supposed when he recalled it fifty years later.

When Beecher said that the college church was almost extinct, he presumably meant that very few students were members of it in his day. The records of the church bear him out: although Yale students were obliged to attend the college church, few became members. Only three new members were admitted in 1792, only one in 1793, and only two in 1794.[11] These figures, however, can be understood only in conjunction with a good many more.

The Yale College church, like many New England churches of the eighteenth century, had its beginnings in controversy, the controversy that followed the Great Awakening of 1741–1742. The Awakening divided New England into two hostile camps—the New Lights who supported it and the Old Lights who opposed it. Thomas Clap, Yale's Rector from 1740 to 1745 and President from 1745 to 1766, had been one of the staunchest Old Lights. He had stood firmly for the Reverend Joseph Noyes, minister of New Haven's First Church, when itinerant New Light preachers denounced Noyes and split his church. Yale students, Clap saw to it, did not go wandering after strange gods; every Sunday morning, whether they liked it or not, they sat in the First Church and listened to Joseph Noyes. But by 1753 Clap himself, to the consternation of his friends, became a New Light. In order to remove Yale students from an influence which he suddenly saw as undesirable, he announced the astonishing doctrine that a college constituted a church in itself. Clap was probably the most forceful personality ever to sit in the president's chair at Yale, and in spite of the fact that Noyes was himself a member of the corporation, he carried his point. In 1757 the college church was gathered, with a professor of divinity, the Reverend Naphtali Daggett, to minister to it. It has existed ever since.[12]

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[9] December 15, 1795, Silliman Papers (Yale University Library).

[10] Most of it had been purchased in 1789. See Yale Corporation Records (Yale University Library) for that year.

[11] Figures on admissions to the college church in this and subsequent paragraphs are taken from the manuscript Records of the Church of Christ in Yale College (Yale University Library).

Several factors must be considered in judging the health of the Yale College church in the eighteenth century. The first is the size of membership in other New England churches of that time. One of the characteristics of the New Light churches (of which the college church, in the beginning at least, must be accounted one) was a strict standard of admission. Though there were wide variations on this point, New Light ministers generally wished to see a return to the Congregational practice of the seventeenth century, when a religious experience conveying assurance of salvation was a prerequisite of membership. Other ministers took a more liberal view, urging all persons who hoped for salvation to join. But even where the minister was liberal, congregations, whether Old Light or New, seem to have been less so; and the numbers who joined a church in full communion remained surprisingly small throughout the eighteenth century.[13]

A small church membership did not necessarily mean an indifference or hostility to religion or to Congregationalism. New Englanders attended church in large numbers, and paid for the support of the minister, even in Rhode Island, where no law obliged them to. But few became members. The number of members in a given church was usually no more than half, sometimes much less than half, the number of families served by the church. In other words, about half of the families attending a particular church normally contained no member. The average New Englander in the eighteenth century was a churchgoer but not a church member. The number of members to be expected, therefore, in a church composed entirely of college students and faculty (the president, a professor or two, and three or four tutors) may be expected to run well below the size of the total student body.

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[12] On the formation of the college church see Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis* (Chapel Hill, 1953), pp. 221–227.

[13] The observations in this and the ensuing paragraphs are based on a sampling of church records, manuscript and published, of congregational churches in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. I will offer a more detailed report on the results in a forthcoming article.

In the case of the college church it must also be remembered that, apart from the faculty, members could remain so for only four years at the most. And even among the faculty the post of tutor was a temporary one, seldom held for more than three or four years. The only permanent members of the church must be drawn from the presidents and professors and their families, and during most of Stiles's presidency there was only one professor. The church was thus constantly facing the threat of extinction by graduation. Commencement day was an annual disaster.

The threat was heightened by the fact that already in the eighteenth century New England churches relied on religious revivals to bring in new members. Such revivals occurred at irregular intervals, separated by periods of quiescence when only occasional members were added. The college church, like other churches, enjoyed revivals, but the effect of them on membership totally disappeared within four years' time.

Still another factor tending to depress the number of members in the college church may be found in the age of the college students. If we examine the age of church members at the time of joining in other churches, it will be found that only a minority joined before the age at which most students graduated. The urge to join a church usually came to eighteenth-century New Englanders, if it came at all, between the ages of twenty-two and forty. For a boy to join while still in his teens was very unusual, and most college students were in their teens. Moreover, if a boy did have the urge to join, he might very well join the church in his own town and never transfer his membership to the college church.

A final factor affecting church membership is one that almost eliminated the very possibility of a college church. The most surprising fact of New England religious behavior in the eighteenth century is that women members of churches usually outnumbered men by about two to one and sometimes by as much as three to one. The figures of course vary from place to place, but the New Haven First Church may serve as an example. Of 164 members admitted in the twenty years from 1768 to 1787, 115 were women and only 49 were men. There were, of course, no women students at Yale.[14]

From these facts it will be apparent that the college church was bound to be a small and perishing body. Its shifting membership, however, serves as a rough barometer of the condition of religion at Yale from year to year. The number of admissions under Stiles as compared with those before and after will give some clue to the merit of Beecher's judgment of Stiles and Dwight.

The records of admissions are pretty complete from the time of the church's formation in 1757 to about 1774 and again from 1780 to about 1810. What they show is an average of about three admissions a year during the first eighteen years of the church's existence (1757–1774). Under Stiles the average was about six admissions a year, double what it had been under his predecessors, and incidentally more than double the rate of admissions of men to the New Haven First Church during this period. During the first fifteen years under Dwight the average was still higher, almost ten a year. The increase corresponds roughly to the increase in college enrollment during the years concerned.

The average figures are somewhat deceptive, because of the periodic revivals. The first revival in the college church occurred under Stiles in 1784, when twenty-four students joined the church. Under Dwight revivals occurred in 1802, 1808, and 1812. In the 1790's, however, there was no revival under either Stiles or Dwight. In the last four and a half years of Stiles's administration a total of fifteen students were admitted, in the first four and a half years of Dwight's administration, fourteen. Thus during the years when Lyman Beecher was at Yale, the membership of the college church remained about even. It was nearly extinct when he entered under Stiles, and it was even more nearly extinct when he graduated under Dwight. Near extinction was, in fact, its normal condition, in which it remained during the early years of Dwight's presidency.

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[14] The figures for the New Haven First Church were compiled by Ezra Stiles and are in the Stiles Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

It was not until 1800 that admissions showed a rise, and not until 1802 that a revival can be detected. This was long *after* other Connecticut churches had begun to experience the great revival of that period. The movement which has been called the second Great Awakening struck Connecticut heavily in 1799.[15] Though historians, led perhaps by Beecher's reminiscences, have sometimes given Dwight credit for helping to start it, the fact is that the revival spread from other churches to the college and not vice versa. Religion at Yale, as measured by membership in the college church, did not show any improvement as a result of the change from Stiles to Dwight.

There can be no doubt that infidelity existed in Yale in the 1790's. It existed also in the 1780's and to a lesser degree in earlier and later decades. Adolescence is generally a time for questioning the principles of one's elders, and doubtless many Yale students went through a period of skepticism about Christianity. Ezra Stiles himself did so in the 1740's, and so have many other Yale students before and since; but that Yale was more infidel than the rest of the nation in the eighteenth century is very unlikely. It is true that the 1780's and 1790's saw the rise of deism in Connecticut and in the country at large to a degree never before known.[16] But there is no contemporary evidence to suggest that Yale was a center of this sentiment. On the contrary, the principal criticism levelled against the college until the reform of its charter in 1792 was the fact that it was governed by clergymen, and no one suggested that the clergymen were leading the students toward deism.[17] One might add that the proportion of those students who became ministers was larger under Stiles than it was under Dwight.[18]

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[15] Keller, *Second Great Awakening*, pp. 37–41.

[16] The rise of deism is treated in the books cited in note 1. Anyone reading the Connecticut newspapers for the latter half of the eighteenth century cannot fail to observe the increasingly outspoken hostility to the clergy during the 1770's, '80's, and '90's. See for example, *Connecticut Courant*, April 13, 1773; *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine*, August 14, October 9, 1788; *American Mercury*, October 14, 1793.

[17] See the articles signed "Parnassus" in *Connecticut Courant* from February 4 to May 27, 1783. Four petitions calling for the addition of laymen to the Yale corporation were presented to the Connecticut Assembly in 1784. See Ezra Stiles, *Literary Diary*, ed. Franklin B. Dexter (New York, 1901), III, 120–121, 126–127.

But statistics are cold and tricky. They may fail to reveal the spirit that pervades a place. What about the strikingly different way that Stiles and Dwight handled infidelity? Under Stiles, Beecher tells us, the students "thought the Faculty were afraid of free discussion," while Dwight dumbfounded them by letting them discuss the question, "Is the Bible the word of God?"

That Dwight presided over such a discussion is highly probable, for reasons that will become apparent. That this discussion surprised the students is highly improbable.

The episode Beecher described was a formal disputation, and he did not mean, I am sure, to imply that disputations were novel. They had been in use since the Middle Ages and were still a regular and important part of the curriculum throughout the eighteenth century. In their junior and senior years students at Yale (as in other American colleges) were required to apply their learning to the defense of various assigned propositions. Half the class took the negative, half the affirmative, and the tutor (for the juniors) or the president (for the seniors) presided, awarding the decision to the side which marshalled its arguments the more skilfully. This was a weekly exercise, in which Stiles had participated as a student in the 1740's and Dwight in the 1760's.

The disputations were of two kinds, forensic and syllogistic. The latter were in Latin, intended as exercises in formal logic; the forensic disputations were in English and designed to develop rhetorical abilities as well as to train the student in clear thinking. Before Stiles's time the propositions for both types of debate tended to be universal questions of philosophy or religion: whether the mind always thinks, whether polygamy is lawful, whether virtue would be eligible if there were no life hereafter, whether miracles in themselves prove a divine revelation, whether human laws bind the conscience, whether deception is ever lawful. Propositions such as these were debated year in and year out. When Stiles became president, he continued to assign them as syllogistic topics and occasionally as forensic ones, but he generally reserved forensic debates for subjects of more immediate and compelling public interest.

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[18] Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College* (New York, 1885–1912), IV, 744; V, 810; VI, 836.

Since public events continually suggested new issues, the subjects of forensic debates under Stiles frequently changed from year to year. He recorded many of them in his diaries. Unfortunately he failed to do so in the last years of his life, while Beecher was a student, but the notebook of Thomas Robbins, a junior, containing forensic topics for 1794–1795, has survived.[19] It reveals how fearful the faculty may have been during Stiles's last year of allowing students to discuss controversial issues. The propositions debated forensically by the junior class, from December 1, 1794, to April 21, 1795, were as follows:

Ought a man to be punished for a crime committed when in a state of intoxication.
Whether a man ought to be imprisoned for debt.
Ought a man to be put to death for any crime except murder.
Whether Democratic societies are beneficial.
Would foreknowledge encrease our happiness.
Whether physical knowledge is favourable to morality.
Ought property to be a necessary qualification for publick office.
Whether the interest of money ought to be regulated by law.
Would it be just and politick for the United States to emancipate all their slaves at once.
Whether raising money by lotteries is politic.
Whether representatives ought to be directed by their constituents.
Whether it was right to confiscate the estates of the refugees, last war.
Can universal salvation be proved from scripture.
Whether theatres are beneficial.
Is a republican preferable to a monarchical government.
Is the observation of the Sabbath a temporal benefit.
Whether the Indian War is just on the part of the United States.
Whether those who have suffered by the western insurrection ought to have restitution made by government.
Is our method of electing members of Congress and our Upper House preferable to that of other states.
Whether the Clergy ought to be exempt from taxation.
Can the various complections of the human species be accounted for from natural causes.
Whether it would be best for the United States to adapt their spelling to their pronunciation.
Whether the discovery of the mines in South America have been advantageous.
Whether sumptuary laws are beneficial.
Whether the principles of the French Revolution are just.

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[19] Robbins Papers (Connecticut Historical Society).

Whether a destitution of property ought to exclude a man from voting.

Whether an insurrection of a minority against a majority can ever be justified.

Whether a discovery of a mine would be beneficial to the United States.

Whether self-love is the sole incitement of action.

Whether a time ought to be fixed when a person shall act for himself.

Ought the study of the dead languages to make a part of a liberal education.

Whether representation ought to be according to population.

Are commercial towns in danger of being too populous for the good of community.

Whether a publick is preferable to a private education.

Whether the Senate and Congress have sufficient reason for holding their debates in private.

Ought persons to be allowed to set up trades without serving an apprenticeship.

Would it be politic for this state to diminish their number of representatives in the assembly.

Whether corporations of mechanics ought to be encouraged.

Would it be politic for this state to turn out the Upper House of our Assembly.

Whether divorces ought ever to be granted.

The particular proposition which is supposed to have astounded the class half a year later under Dwight is not here; but that proposition, in one form or another, had actually been debated at Yale for at least forty-five years. It was one of the old, standard topics, and is in one of the first student notebooks of disputations at Yale that I have been able to discover, that of Eleazar May in the class of 1752.[20] May debated it on December 31, 1750; and as it happened, the instructor who presided over the argument was young Ezra Stiles, then serving as a college tutor. Ammi Robbins, father of the boy who recorded the topics listed above for 1794–1795, debated the proposition in 1758.[21] Stiles noted it in his diary as a subject for the seniors in 1778, 1780, 1781, 1787, and 1788.[22] Eli Whitney debated it in 1790 and 1791;[23] and Thomas Robbins' notebooks show it as the subject of an English composition for the juniors on April 19, 1795, less than a month before Stiles's death.[24] When Dwight selected it as a topic for disputation by the same class some six months later, the students could scarce-

[20] (Yale University Library.) The usual form of stating the proposition was not precisely in Beecher's words, but "whether the Scriptures are of divine inspiration."

[21] Ammi Robbins, Liber Argumentorum, Robbins Papers.

[22] *Literary Diary,* II, 314, 483, 569; III, 255, 332.

[23] Eli Whitney, Questions disputed by the class 1790 and 1791 (Yale University Library).

[24] Thomas Robbins, Liber Compositionum, Robbins Papers.

ly have been surprised, except perhaps at being allowed to worry that same old topic once again.[25]

Thus Beecher's recollections on these two matters, the state of the college church and the subject of the seniors' first disputation under Dwight, though probably correct as to facts, are wholly misleading about the significance of the facts. How, then, does it happen that Beecher's general impression was supported by so many other witnesses?

The strongest corroborative testimony is that of the students' letters written in 1795 and 1796. These are inescapable, contemporary sources, and they speak so highly of Dwight that they inevitably cast his predecessor in the shade. At least one deliberately contrasts the two men, much to the detriment of Stiles. Was Beecher right, after all, in his general impression? Though the letters actually say nothing and imply nothing about infidelity under Stiles, they do give a glowing picture of the improved student morale, not to say morals, under Dwight.

Before deciding that Beecher was right in general if wrong in particular, one should consider the fact that Beecher, like the authors of the contemporary letters, formed his impressions as a student. Fifty years later he remembered how he felt as a student, and there can be no doubt that the students at Yale gave Dwight an enthusiastic reception. Historians, most of whom teach in colleges and universities, know something at firsthand of student fashions and student enthusiasms. Students as a class are surely as fickle as women. Few historians, I believe, would be ready to turn over the choice of a college president, or even of a faculty member, to their students.

Unhappily when a historian reads the letters of an eighteenth-century student, he does not always employ the same perspective. The expiring condition of the college church and a debate on the divinity of the scriptures assume a different significance when placed in the context of what came before and what came after. By examining a larger number of student letters we may gain a similar perspective on them. It is not even necessary to read very far in order to observe the rapidity with which student feeling vibrated from enthusiasm to discontent and back again.

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[25] The possibility should perhaps be considered that we have misinterpreted Beecher's remarks about the faculty being afraid of free discussion. Beecher may have meant the faculty not under Stiles but under Dwight. Dwight was well known for his ardent and active opposition to infidelity; and the students, when they heard of his election to the presidency, may have anticipated an end to free discussion.

The most enthusiastic letter about the improved morale of the college under Timothy Dwight was written by Timothy Bishop to Thomas Robbins on January 11, 1796. Within three months Bishop had begun to cool off. When he wrote to Robbins again on April 14, 1796, he said that things were still, on the whole, going well, "but there are some individuals in the class who are very negligent in their studies and likewise in their attendance upon the exercises of College more so I believe than they ever have hitherto been. Day after day and week after week will pass away when these persons will scarcely look into a book or attend once upon the exercises of college."[26] Benjamin Silliman, who had written his mother so happily in December, 1795, had a different story on July 4, 1796: "The students are making a great rout, about commons—petitions, remonstrances, and resolves, have been sent into the corporation (which were yesterday sitting). I believe they have at least been saved the mortification of a refusal, and I believe nothing more. A large number of our stout-hearts have given out, that if they cannot obtain leave from the corporation to live out, they will take it from themselves."[27]

Similar alternations of sentiment could be cited from almost any student correspondence. Mills Day on July 12, 1802, writes his brother Jeremiah of the great religious revival at Yale and of his own thoughts of joining the church; but by December 24, 1802, he says:

> The students in the lower classes have become rather unruly. Mr. Knight was rusticated for 2 months for rolling a barrel down stairs against the tutors door and afterwards denying it before the Authority. About the same time the bell rope was cut, the Bible and Psalm book concealed and a dead duck put under the cushion in the desk. Soon after Tutor Stuart had 5 or 6 of his window glass broken; and last evening a piece of gammon hung on his door and over it a paper on which was written "Turkeys for sale, 3 pence per pound." I have not yet been detected in any of these tricks nor do I know that they even mistrust me.[28]

By this time both the students and faculty seem to have lost the zeal for study that prevailed in the first months under Dwight. In the same letter Mills Day writes, "We recite lessons but four or five times in a week. The rest of our time is spent in writing, attending the other collegiate exercises, or in such other employment as we chose to be engaged in. Altho' we have no less than five professors appointed to instruct us in the various branches of science we enjoy the benefit of none of them at present."

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[26] Robbins Papers.

[27] Silliman Papers.

[28] Thomas Mills Day Collection (Yale University Library).

Twenty years earlier or twenty years later student correspondence tells much the same story. Jedidiah Morse wrote his parents from Yale on August 21, 1781, "since I have been a member of College prospects were never more promising, pleasant, and agreeable; a laudable ambition prevails; Virtue and Piety flourish; and Literature is in its Meridian splendor." On January 6, 1782, however, "Religion in this otherwise flourishing society is at a low ebb—I wish it was in my power to inform you otherwise. . . ." By the following August, 1782, college had been disturbed by the revelation of student debauchery too shocking for Morse to describe, but on June 20, 1783, a "Seriousness considerable prevails in College—one we hope is happily converted. God only knows how far it may spread." This was the beginning of the religious revival of that year.[29]

College authorities learned to take these sudden shifts in their stride. Ezra Stiles was not unaware in 1795 of the low student morale that Beecher remembered, nor was he complacent about it. But Stiles knew what Beecher did not, that this kind of thing was part of any college president's life. On February 12, 1795, three months before his death, Stiles wrote to Professor Eliphalet Pearson of Harvard in saner words than Beecher or any other student could have used: "Our college has been in a Tumult, nor is yet calm, altho' I hope we are quieting. The abolition of the Winter vacation by the Corporation last fall, has occasioned it. But we shall get along. I hope matters are tranquil at Harvard."[30]

The fact is that neither student recollections nor student letters can furnish an accurate guide to the condition of a college. Lyman Beecher remembered that student morale was bad at the time that Stiles died and that it improved when Dwight took over. His memory played tricks on him in providing details to substantiate the impression, but the impression itself was correct. What Beecher could not have understood was that morale would probably have picked up under the continued ministrations of Ezra Stiles as readily as it did under Dwight.

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[29] Jedidiah Morse Papers (Yale University Library).

[30] Park Collection (Yale University Library).

There remains the testimony of Matthew Dutton and Gardiner Spring, but these men may be quickly dismissed. Both were writing eulogies of Dwight after his death in 1817, and though they knew Dwight in his later years, they did not know Stiles. Dutton had been only twelve years old and a resident of Watertown, Connecticut, at the time when Stiles died and Dwight became president in 1795. Dutton did not enter Yale until he was twenty-three in 1806.[31] Gardiner Spring was ten years old in 1795 and a resident of Newburyport, Massachusetts. He did not enter Yale until 1800.[32] Both Spring and Dutton therefore spoke from hearsay. Neither knew at firsthand what he was talking about.

But is it not remarkable that two men speaking from hearsay (Dutton and Spring) and one (Beecher) speaking from memory, perhaps overlaid with hearsay, should have recorded the same impression, that Ezra Stiles was incompetent, especially as an opponent of infidelity, and that Dwight was competent and inspiring? Where did this unanimous impression come from? Could it have arisen entirely from the faulty perspective of students?

No final answer is possible here. But having seen more substantial evidence dissolve under scrutiny, we may perhaps be permitted to speculate about this. We know that there was no love lost between Stiles and Dwight. The details of the feud are hard to get at because the crucial documents have been lost or destroyed, but we know that they disliked each other. We know also that a change took place in the religious atmosphere of New England during the years when Dwight was president of Yale. Whether or not Dwight had anything to do with it, there was a great revival of religion about the turn of the century. We know that Dwight fancied himself as a crusader against infidelity. He would hardly have been averse to taking credit for the awakening.

We know also that from an early date Dwight opposed the French Revolution, while Stiles went to his grave in 1795 still confident that the French had ushered in a new era of freedom.[33] We know that Dwight, like most of the New England clergy, became an ardent Federalist, while Stiles gave every sign of gravitating toward the Jeffersonians. We know that Dwight looked on all supporters of Jefferson and all supporters of the French Revolution as infidels; he even propagated the rumor, which was utterly false, that a secret society of deists, linked with the French Jacobins, was seeking the overthrow of government in the United States.[34]

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[31] Dexter, *Biographical Sketches,* VI, 188–190.

[32] *Ibid.*, V, 791.

Under these circumstances is it not likely that Dwight thought Stiles was soft on deism, indeed soft in every way? Is it not likely that in discussing Stiles with friends and protégés Dwight conveyed precisely the impression that prevailed with Dutton, Spring, and Beecher? Even if he did not, would it be surprising if these men remembered the change that took place in New England around 1800 and associated it with the change from Stiles to Dwight? Memory has played stranger tricks.

What, then, have we proved? Not that Ezra Stiles was a great man and a great Christian, or that Timothy Dwight was not—merely that the most positive evidence will sometimes take on a different meaning when placed in its proper context. We may also have shown that a man who values his historical reputation had better outlive his enemies. It is time, I think, to reopen the case of Stiles vs. Dwight and to judge the two men, not by what students thought of them at a particular time, not by what they thought of each other, and not by what old men remembered of them, but by their actual achievements. We may in the end decide that Dwight was the bigger man, but if so it will not be because Stiles plunged Yale into a chaos of infidelity from which Dwight rescued her. Whatever Timothy Dwight's achievements—and they were many—no good evidence has yet been offered to show that this was one of them.

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[33] See his letter of July 9, 1794, to Jacob Richardson, Stiles Papers (Yale University Library), and his *A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I* (Hartford, 1794), pp. 207–339.

[34] Vernon Stauffer, *New England and the Bavarian Illuminati* (New York, 1918), pp. 246–252.

# The French Side of the "Log Cabin Myth"

### Richard W. Hale, Jr.*

In his posthumous *The Log Cabin Myth* Harold R. Shurtleff proved pretty conclusively that the log cabin that is supposedly so typically American was not in the least typical of our forefathers. Today the log cabin may be as American as corn whiskey, the long rifle, and the automobile, but originally it was not but rather what the anthropologists call an imported culture trait. For in its origin the log cabin was Swedish, brought to Delaware Bay about 1638 and probably reintroduced by a separate wave of German immigrants about 1710, and took until nearly the beginning of the eighteenth century to secure adoption among the Anglo-Saxon colonists. Having shown this, Mr. Shurtleff left to others the questions of how it spread and what other forms of log construction were used in its place. "An important task which we have not had the time to perform—to document the spread of the log house, and the evolution of the log cabin—awaits an investigator."[1] The purposes of this paper are to take a short step down the road to which he pointed and to show a curious and perhaps unexpected turn in it.

The trail will extend geographically over the northern part of the North American continent. Beginning at Midland, Ontario, it will reach to the Third Crossing of the White Mud River in Manitoba, to the shores of the Pacific Ocean and the banks of the Yukon and Porcupine Rivers in Alaska, then south into Montana, the Dakotas, and Minnesota, eastward to New Hampshire and Maine, and will end at what appears to be its beginning, at the mouths of the Murray and Saguenay Rivers as they run into the Saint Lawrence. This trail will wind through variations in terminology in which the accuracy and simplicity of the French language may seem preferable to the looseness of the English. If properly led, you will have an addition to

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* This paper was read at the May, 1958, meeting.

[1] Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth*, ed. Samuel E. Morison (Cambridge, 1939), p. 183.

Mr. Shurtleff's work and will become acquainted with the French alternative to the Swedish log cabin.

The start on this trail of research came when Professor Samuel Eliot Morison asked my advice on a problem that had arisen when he was preparing *The Parkman Reader*. Having edited Shurtleff's MS, Mr. Morison well knew that the French Canadians were strangers, in the seventeenth century, to the "notch and saddle" log cabin. Yet Parkman referred to the French Canadians as living in log cabins. Was this an anachronistic reading into the past of the construction methods Parkman had seen French Canadians use when he had lived among them? Or was there a type of log house construction to which Parkman referred that the seventeenth-century French Canadians did use? Knowing my interest in Canadian history, Mr. Morison asked me if I could throw light on the subject.

The first step in answering this question was to pick up Wilfred and Elsie McL. Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*. This is a delightful and exciting book which tells how Mr. Jury excavated the Jesuit Mission near present-day Midland, Ontario, that was burned and abandoned in 1649 for fear of Iroquois attack. The book has the charm and thrill that come from looking over the archaeologist's shoulder as he works at his dig. In it one can see the reverence with which priests were summoned to supervise the work when for a moment there was a belief that the bones of Saint Jean de Brébeuf might lie under the newly uncovered base of the chapel altar. One can follow with fascination the deductions Mr. Jury drew from the charred wood and the rotted remains below indicating the type of building and construction that had been fired three centuries before.

From such evidence Mr. Jury came to clear-cut conclusions as to the types of construction used. He was sure that the walls surrounding the Mission had been simple palisades, that is, posts driven into the ground. This is what French Canadians call "pièces en terre." But the North Court of the Mission had been better built than that. From France dedicated carpenters had made the "Long Voyage to the Lands of the Hurons" to give their lives and services to God and had put in good work. They seem to have used another form of construction, known as "columbage." This consisted of laying sills, putting pairs of uprights on the sills, and then pegging or spiking planks on the inside of each set of uprights. In the space so formed by the two sets of planks was put a filler. In this case the filler was clearly clay and stone. This was the variety of construction known as "columbage pierrotté" and it fitted in well with a statement written home to France from Quebec by Mère Marie de l'Incarnation that the houses in Quebec were mostly of columbage pierrotté.[2]

This information allowed Mr. Morison to feel safe in assuming that sometimes logs—without retaining planks—were similarly set between the pairs of uprights and that Parkman might well have found reference to such construction.[3]

While answering Mr. Morison's question, this information left further ones in my mind. What had happened to "log columbage," if such a term might be coined? I was not aware of seeing any in my visits to Canada. Did it still exist? If it had died out, when had that happened? Soon a clue fell into my hands. Professor William Morton of the University of Manitoba sent me the history of his home town, Gladstone, which he and his sister had had privately printed. Here was a mine of information on the day-to-day life of the Canadian frontier. In this wealth of well-told detail it was specifically stated that the first frontier houses were not log cabins, which were introduced later from the United States, but "Red River Frame." Could it be that this was the last survivor of log columbage?

For a while I was at a loss. Only Manitoban books referred to Red River Frame, and they blandly assumed that any fool would know what Red River Frame was. Then by good fortune, at a recent meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, I found myself lunching with Mr. J. D. Herbert of the Glenbow Foundation, of Calgary, Alberta. I put the problem of Red River Frame to him. No better source of information could have been found. He had supervised the restoration of a Hudson's Bay Company post and had seen to it that there were no anachronisms. Spurning the incorrect plan of building in what Americans call log cabin style and what he called notch and saddle, he showed me how the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company had built their forts and posts "Hudson's Bay Style," which in their colony of Red River (now known as Manitoba) had gone by the name of Red River Frame. A few strokes of his pencil on a paper napkin in the luncheon hall of the University of Ottawa opened my eyes to some of the techniques of log construction.

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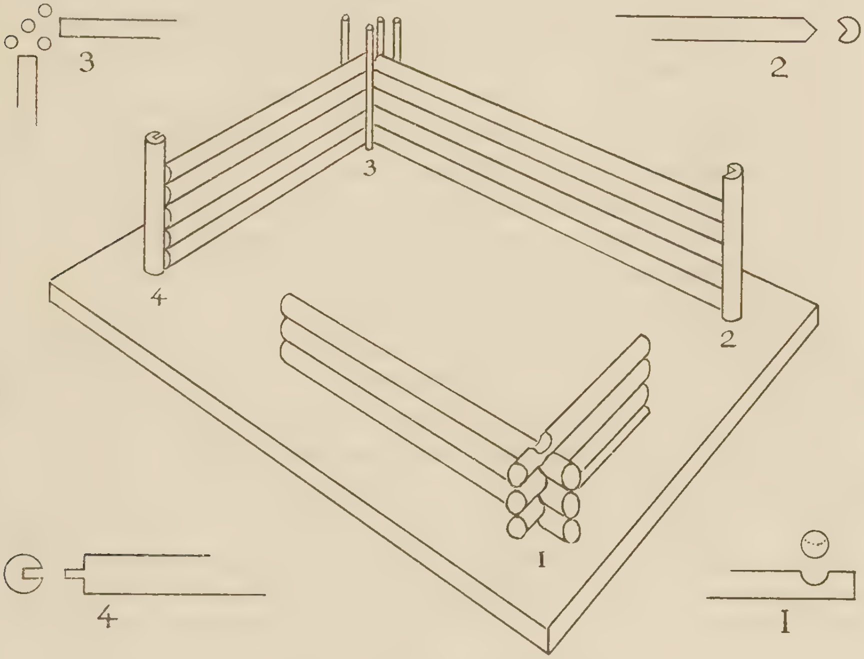
[2] Wilfred and Elsie McL. Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons* (Toronto, 1954), pp. 38–39.

[3] *The Parkman Reader*, ed. Samuel E. Morison (Boston, 1955), p. 194*n*.



Examples of Log Construction

1. "Notch and saddle" ("pièce sur pièce")
2. "Hudson's Bay Style" ("Red River Frame" or "poteaux sur soles")
3. "Canuck Cabin"
4. "Poteaux sur soles" with tenon in groove

Now here is a sample of the various types of such construction. It was made by Mr. William Furlong, of Dover, Massachusetts. On one side you can see the familiar construction of notched logs, overlapping at the corners. This is what we call the log cabin, what Mr. Herbert called notch and saddle, and what French Canadians call "pièce sur pièce." You can see how each log overlaps the other so that piece goes on piece to build a sturdy structure once it is locked tight together. On the other side are three different forms of construction, variants that stem from the same ancestor, log columbage. One is a sill, a grooved upright, and pointed logs that can be dropped into the grooves. There are many possible ways which need not be gone into here of making this groove, but all have this in common: extreme simplicity and speed of building. Once the uprights are installed and the groove made, pointed logs can be dropped in as fast as they are raised to the top of the uprights.

When properly chinked, such construction clearly will be as weatherproof though perhaps not so sturdy as the American log cabin. But in New Hampshire there is a simpler construction known as a "Canuck Cabin," Mr. Furlong tells me. It is illustrated at the next set of uprights. Here three posts form the groove, and short lengths of log are dropped in as fast as they can be picked up. On the other hand, others tell me, it is possible to make this sturdier by putting a tenon on each end of the log and making the groove square-sided. This makes for great strength, but also for much more work. Here then, in use today, is a type of construction that can properly be called a log cabin, that exists on the North American continent, and that does not spring from the Swedes in Delaware. What are the facts about its present and its past?

It is in use today. According to Mr. Furlong, it is used by French Canadian immigrants in New Hampshire. It is also used in Maine by Yankee and French Canadian alike. Mr. Alonzo Smith, from Washington County, Maine, now Ranger of the Robert Sever Hale Reservation in Westwood, Massachusetts, at once recognized this form of construction when I described it to him but gave it the name "hog troughing." Mr. Miles Rowe, a Tennessee-born agricultural agent now living in Minnesota, tells me that he found this style of cabin in the northern counties of Minnesota except where recent Finnish immigrants have introduced the notch and saddle construction from their native land, and that it extends into the Dakotas and Montana. In a recent issue of the *Alberta Historical Review*, sent me by Mr. Hugh Dempsey, Archivist of the Glenbow Foundation, Dr. Frank Roe describes how he built his own log cabin in 1897, and how much better the American style was than the Hudson's Bay. In so pouring scorn on the latter—which he assumes was introduced into Canada by the Orkneymen who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company—he incidentally describes how the Northwest Mounted Police post on the Porcupine River (a tributary of the Yukon) was built Hudson's Bay Style. This throws light, too, on a communication from Mr. George Shepherd, Curator of the Pioneers' Museum in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, in which he speaks of three types of log cabin construction in Saskatchewan: "Dovetail," "Dog Head," and Red River Frame. For the pioneers of the Canadian West, building log cabins in the last of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, were able to use modern tools to get the most out of the timber at hand by rediscovering the improvement over the Swedish notch and saddle of dovetailing the corners and leaving no overlap. Thus it is clear that to this day Hudson's Bay Style cabins are being built, though in diminishing numbers, from Maine to Alaska, in competition with Dog Head and Dovetail.[4]

What then of the province of Quebec, the native habitat of log columbage? The answer is yes again, with three pieces of evidence. First, in the Hudson's Bay Company magazine *The Beaver* for December, 1945, Dr. Marius Barbeau wrote an article, "The House that Mac Built." This brief illustrated account shows how widespread log columbage was in the recent past and still is. He found such cabins being built in the Ottawa valley. He provided pictures of such construction under way in Labrador in 1943 as well as of buildings in British Columbia and in the Northwest Territories on the Mackenzie River, near the Arctic Circle. Second, I am told that M. Sylvio Brassard, an architect in Quebec who specializes in building hunting and fishing lodges, uses this form of construction. Lastly, once my eyes were opened, I saw this construction myself. Barely two miles from my wife's summer home in Pointe au Pic, Quebec, is a back road known as the Côte de Sable, down which I have often driven. This summer, for the first time, I looked at the construction properly. Sure enough, there were both types of log cabin, the American pièce sur pièce and the Canadian "poteaux sur soles," to use the expressive and inclusive French Canadian name, which can be translated "posts on sills." Indeed, hybrids were to be seen, houses of pièce sur pièce with outbuildings of poteaux sur soles, and even one wonderful hybrid with one corner pièce sur pièce, the other poteaux sur soles. Log columbage still exists.

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[4] Frank G. Roe, "The Old Log House in Western Canada," *Alberta Historical Review,* VI (1958), 1–9.

For this there are several sound reasons. One is economy: log columbage uses shorter logs than the Swedish-American pièce sur pièce, which fact makes it preferable in a northern land of short stubby trees. Second, it is a speedy form of construction. It takes very little time to lay out some kind of groove into which to drop logs or slabs. Third—and this was the reason why the Hudson's Bay Company seems to have adopted it—it allows larger buildings than the American style. A moment's reflection will show that it is very hard to make an American style log cabin that is longer than the average log of which it is constructed. It can be done by various dodges which Mr. Roe describes in his article, but it is difficult. But if you set up a row of posts on sills, the building so made can run on till you run out of logs to build it. Such were the long Hudson's Bay Company posts and Northwest Mounted Police posts that made the original centers of civilization in Western Canada. Such is the still standing Upper Fort Garry, which commemorates the spot where in 1821 the London banker Nicholas Garry made peace between those bitter rivals, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, and fused them into one fur trade monopoly. Thus, though the American style log cabin has invaded Canada with some success, especially in Alberta, the Canadian style still holds its own and has even made its own counter-invasion of the United States.

Can the arrival of this style of construction in the United States be dated? Dr. Barbeau thinks it can be dated as even earlier than the construction of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons in 1639. For the oldest settlement, though not the oldest continuous settlement, north of Saint Augustine may well be the tiny village of Tadoussac, at the mouth of the Saguenay. There many a fisherman may have wintered as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century. Since 1600, when Chauvin made his base there, Tadoussac (though often abandoned) has been a base for occasional wintering and, after Champlain's settlement of Quebec, for more and more permanent habitation. Its mission church, now restored, is one of the show places of the Saguenay cruise. And next to the mission church is a restoration of the log house Chauvin built in 1600 as a *maison de plaisance* in which to live on shore in comfort. It was built, log for log, from the oldest cabins that could be found on the shore of the Saint Lawrence. Naturally it is of French construction, that is, poteaux sur soles.

Therefore, if the reconstructors are correct, here began a style of building that went from thence to the Arctic and the Pacific, and it may truly be said that the first log cabin in America was not Swedish in 1638 on the Delaware but French in 1600 on the Saint Lawrence.[5]

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[5] Since this paper was read, more information has come to light on the spread and use of log columbage construction. Mr. Henry Brown, Director of the Detroit Historical Society and Museum, has lent the working papers for the reconstruction of a house in Cadillac's village at Detroit. Mr. H. W. Bowsfield, Public Archivist of Manitoba, has communicated a photograph of the interior of a building at Lower Fort Garry. Mr. H. J. Swinney, Director of the Idaho Historical Society, has sent a description by David Thompson and Finan McDonald, of the building of the Northwest Fur Company's Kullyspell House in 1809. With Mr. Robin W. Winks of Yale the author inspected Father Lacombe's still preserved Log Cathedral at St. Albert, Alberta. The author also visited the reconstruction of Chauvin's *maison de plaisance* at Tadoussac and various log columbage buildings in Charlevoix County, Quebec, particularly at Cap à l'Aigle and near Tadoussac.

This added information has brought out two points. The first is the way in which log columbage construction has been subsequently masked because such buildings were boarded over outside and boarded or plastered over inside. Clear examples of this are the Lower Fort Garry house and the efforts of the Detroit Historical Society and Museum in determining what was the customary wall construction of the French Canadians in the time of Cadillac's founding of Detroit. An even clearer example came when a clapboarded house in Cap à l'Aigle was partially burned, revealing that its frame, unknown to its present owners, had been log columbage. Thus it is clear that in the French Canadian culture belt there was a marked tendency to build with log columbage and then cover over the construction. And thus log columbage appears to have been far more widespread than is generally realized.

The second point that becomes increasingly clear is that there is no terminology agreed upon to describe this construction. Knowledge of it must have passed from man to man by example, not by words. Mr. Swinney's communication is of interest here, because McDonald and Thompson described their building in terms— "needles and posts"—rather different from any met with so far.

For these reasons, it appears fitting to repeat the plea quoted from *The Log Cabin Myth* at the start of this paper that some historian continue the study of the log cabin which Shurtleff began.

# Prior to Little Rock in American Education: The *Roberts* Case of 1849-1850

ARTHUR BURR DARLING*

THE maintenance of historical perspective in contemporary crises is difficult at any time. It is near the impossible these days for one living on the border of Virginia, even within the nation's capitol. Sallow youths in tight blue jeans, with long sideburns and Confederate campaign hats, obvious descendants of English and Scotch-Irish emigrants to this continent, loiter upon the steps of the Supreme Court or of the Library of Congress or of the Lincoln Memorial as persons of maturer mien pass by. These may be distinguished as lawyers, professors, and scholars. Some of their ancestors came from Africa. The contrast is striking. It provokes thought on representative government in America and upon public education that is hard indeed to keep within historic objectivity.

Fundamental to Thomas Jefferson's conception of the proper relation of a people and its state was the necessity of bringing into action "that mass of talents which lies buried in poverty in every country for want of the means of development." Jefferson's plan for Virginia prescribed "the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor" to avail the state of those talents; for they would "perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated." Concerned that the people should be the "guardians of their own liberty," he would have them read history to become "judges of the actions and designs of men." Knowing ambition "under every guise it may assume," they would be able to "defeat its views." Thomas Jefferson's ideas on the value to the state of talented youths and on public instruction are not guiding responsible officers in Virginia at this moment. Its legislature has just abolished the requirement of attendance in the public schools.[1]

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* This paper was read at the February, 1959, meeting.

[1] *The Living Thoughts of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. John Dewey (New York, 1940), pp. 116–124; *Washington Post*, Jan. 19, Feb. 1, 1959.

This crisis in American education and government has been heightened by recent opinions of the Supreme Court overturning judgments that have stood fifty years and more with regard to the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In the opinion of defenders of the traditional rights of the several states, the declaration in the Amendment that no state may deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws was not designed to interfere with the educational systems of the states. One student of the origin of the Amendment has found no evidence available to indicate that the framers of it in 1868 referred in any way to segregation. Others investigating the adoption of the Amendment reached the conclusion that its supporters were virtually unanimous in believing it required equal schools for Negroes and that a very large number of those supporters thought the Amendment forbade segregated schools.[2]

The purpose of this paper is to determine in some measure the historic meaning within the concept of "equal protection of the laws"—that protection which no state may deny to any person within its jurisdiction under the Constitution. This concept was first presented by eminent counsel, Charles Sumner, to a high court, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and met there judgment by one of the country's ablest jurists, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw. This was in 1850, more than a hundred years ago, before there was a Fourteenth Amendment, before the rights of the states were tested in civil war, even before slavery had been removed from the land.

We are too engrossed at this moment in angry controversy over the immediate exclusion of Negroes from the public schools which have been reserved for white students in Virginia and in Arkansas. This has diverted us too much from comparable racial hostility of long standing in Northern and Western communities. Both legal segregation in the Southern states and racial prejudice throughout this country are the "legacy of a social structure" based upon slavery, as Jacques Maritain has remarked in his *Reflections on America*. The "most general fact" to him is the conflict between the "mores" of this people and their law.[3]

It was as true in the days of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.

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[2] Joseph B. James, *The Framing of the Fourteenth Amendment* (Urbana, 1956), pp. 200–201; John P. Frank and Robert F. Munro, "Original Understanding of 'Equal Protection of the Laws,'" *Columbia Law Review*, L (1950), 162.

[3] Jacques Maritain, *Reflections on America* (New York, 1958), pp. 49–50.

Both wrote declarations of independence from the social antipathies and racial animosities of their time. Both aspired to fix the aims of this people upon the perfectibility of mankind. Jefferson asserted that by the laws of nature and of nature's God, all men were created equal and endowed with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness; and government drew its just powers from the consent of the governed. Adams wrote into the constitution of Massachusetts that men were of right free and equal, entitled by nature to seek property, happiness, and safety. To safeguard these rights and "blessings of life," government should have its powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—carefully separated from one another so that it might be a "government of laws and not of men." But the realities, the hard facts, then as now, differed from the aspirations which Jefferson and Adams proclaimed.[4]

The realities were those aversions and fears which lurk at all times within every man. If present manifestations in some churches against the admission of Negroes into their pews may be taken as evidence, these emotions are more pervading and compelling than is devotion to religious belief. It is certain that such antipathies are not to be deprived of their tyranny over the minds and actions of men merely by asserting ideals and principles in proclamations nor even by enacting them into constitutions and statutes of government.

The difficult role of government in these circumstances was on the mind of the Supreme Judicial Court as it listened to Charles Sumner plead for the rights of Sarah Roberts under the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The City of Boston was not permitting Sarah, aged five, to attend the primary school for white children in her neighborhood.

The case has special interest for us this afternoon, the 150th anniversary of Lincoln's birth. Chief Justice Shaw and Peleg W. Chandler, attorney for the City of Boston, were active Members of this Society at the time. Charles Sumner became a Member in 1873, a few months before his death. There in the outer hall is the imposing stone upon which William Lloyd Garrison set the type of *The Liberator*, in which appeared the reports of the school committees, Chandler's defense and Sumner's argument, comments by Garrison and Wendell Phillips, and the opinion which Lemuel Shaw gave for the whole court in the spring of 1850. But the case of Sarah Roberts has historic significance beyond personal interest.

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[4] *The Adjusted Constitution of Massachusetts*, ed. J. Nelson Trask (Boston, 1884).

It was in reality the judgment of Lemuel Shaw that Chief Justice Warren and his associates overruled in 1954. Justice Brown's opinion for the Supreme Court of 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* relied upon Shaw's opinion of 1850 as precedent for the doctrine of "separate but equal." Justice Clifford when concurring on January 14, 1878, with Chief Justice Waite in a decision relating to equal facilities in transportation, *Hall v. De Cuir*, had referred specifically to Shaw's judgment as it related to education. The judges in many state courts had cited the opinion of Shaw to support their views of the limits upon the rights of persons to equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.[5]

Charles Sumner is acclaimed by legal historians for his argument before Lemuel Shaw. Sumner was the first to use the phrase "equality before the law" in English. He translated it directly from the French "égalité devant la loi" and joined with it the concept of rights in particular which he found in the French constitution of 1791. It declared that men were born and continued "free and equal in their rights." Thus Charles Sumner advanced the idea from a theory to a legal instrument in this country. Fifteen years later as a Senator from Massachusetts he was to contribute in very large part to the introduction of the phrase "equal protection of the laws" into the Fourteenth Amendment.[6]

There had been a separate school for colored children in Boston since 1798. One with a white instructor was maintained by colored parents whose children were unhappy in the public schools, if they attended at all. The 1,200 Negroes constituted then approximately a twentieth of the population of the town. This school continued intermittently on scanty private funds until 1806, when the selectmen began contributing, but rather reluctantly, $200 a year from the public revenues. White donors made it possible in 1808 to establish the school in the basement of the African Baptist Church in Belknap

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[5] *Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954); *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896); *Hall v. De Cuir*, 95 U.S. 485 (1878). For the cases in the state courts, see Leonard W. Levy, *The Law of the Commonwealth and Chief Justice Shaw* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 109–117.

[6] Frank and Munro, "Original Understanding," pp. 137–138.

Street. And in 1815 Abiel Smith left to the town a number of shares in turnpikes and bridge companies and some bonds of the United States, to be used for the instruction of persons of color, both Africans and their descendants "either colored or mixed." The selectmen assigned the fund to the separate school and named it in honor of its benefactor. The school committee of the town took over its administration.[7]

The first teachers were white, but from time to time Negroes became masters of the Smith School. Two of them went on to eminent positions abroad. Prince Saunders became a diplomatic officer for Christophe, ruler of Haiti. John B. Russwurm, after teaching three years, entered Bowdoin College and later became the governor of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas in Africa. This was the time of the American Colonization Society, which resulted in the establishment of Liberia.

The Smith School had a new building by 1835, thanks to Samuel A. Eliot of the Board of Aldermen, with the aid of Henry Williams and Frederic Emerson. It was dedicated by Judge William Minot. His address deserves thought in its relation to the present controversy. Governor Almond of Virginia and newly elected Governor Patterson of Alabama have made speeches too upon the subject of education for Negroes, stressing some of the same points, it is true, but in rather different tones.[8]

There were those who believed, said Judge Minot, that although the colored man had generous and noble emotions and a capacity to investigate and to discover truth, he nevertheless was not equal to the white man in having "a power of endless improvement." Judge Minot did not think that God had so limited Negroes. "I believe," he declared to those before him, "that education has made the distinctions from which you suffer, and that to education you must look for a remedy. The progress of truth is discouragingly slow in this world, but truth is not entirely stationary; it moves a little, and it is in our power to accelerate its course." They could not expect in a few years results that had cost nations whole ages to reach. "The character of a race," he said, "is altered by slow and insensible degrees."[9] Certainly no historian will confine that observation to any one of the races.

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[7] *Mr. Minot's Address . . . at the Dedication of the Smith School . . . March 3, 1835* (Boston, 1835), Introduction; *Report of a Special Committee of the Grammar School Board . . . August 29, 1849* (Boston, 1849), pp. 18–24.

[8] For Almond, see the *Washington Post*, Jan. 21, 1959, p. 10; for Patterson, the *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1959, p. 30.

The Abolitionist movement, however, was growing swiftly in Massachusetts by this time in company with Horace Mann's campaign for better public instruction. Many were leaders in both endeavors, though Horace Mann roused Wendell Phillips' scorn, easily stirred, for not taking part in the attack upon separate schools for Negroes as Phillips thought he should. Town after town was abandoning its separate schools. The City of Boston remained, to Abolitionists, the last stronghold of evil discrimination in defiance of the constitution of the Commonwealth. The Smith School and the subordinate "caste schools" of the city must be abolished.[10]

Under this criticism the school committee divided fifty-nine to sixteen and submitted two reports in 1846. For the majority there were six considerations to maintain that separate schools were both legal and expedient. Negroes by reason of their peculiar physical, social, and moral structure required different educational treatment. Their number in Boston was so great that they could be advantageously placed in separate schools. This separation was not inconvenient for them as they lived so compactly. The origin of the schools showed that the colored people would have obtained little education without them and would have remained ignorant and degraded as, it may be inferred, Negroes of Boston no longer were to so great a degree. If the schools were abolished, the number of colored students would diminish, and there consequently would be serious injury to the other schools. And finally, whatever the critics might assert, the majority of the colored people in the city and most of the white people preferred the system of schools as it was.[11]

For the minority, Edmund Jackson and Henry I. Bowditch dismissed the argument that separate schools were for the best interests of the colored people. It was labored; it was, besides, "gross and deliberate misrepresentation." The republican system of government conferred civil equality and legal rights upon every citizen; there was no privileged class nor any degraded class; there was no difference between rich and poor, learned and ignorant, white and black. All were upon the same level. One of the merits of public instruction was the "fusion of all classes." From a childhood that shared "the same bench and sports," they declared, there could hardly rise "a manhood of aristocratic prejudice, or separate castes or classes."[12]

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[9] *Mr. Minot's Address . . . March 3, 1835*, pp. 5, 6.

[10] Wendell Phillips in *The Liberator*, Aug. 28, 1848.

[11] *Report to the Primary School Committee, June 15, 1846* (Boston, 1846), p. 29.

To support their position with legal argument, the minority drew upon the opinion which Richard Fletcher, soon to be appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court, had recently given at the request of the school committee in Salem. There was, he said, "no law, adjudication or principle, which would authorize a School Committee to exclude any class of *white* children from the free schools, and restrict them to district schools provided for them; neither the constitution nor the laws of the Commonwealth made 'any distinction between a colored and a white person.'" He doubted that a school exclusively for colored children was equally advantageous to them, although he did not say why he thought it was not. "But suppose it were so," he said, "it would in no way affect the decision of the question." The colored children were "lawfully entitled to the benefits of the free schools." They were "not bound to accept an equivalent."[13]

Peleg Chandler gave his opinion at the request of the committee on June 20, 1846. It ran counter to the argument of Richard Fletcher. The requirements of the law as stated in the Revised Statutes, Chapter 23, said Chandler, were "quite general" respecting common schools. The provisions for their establishment were "stringent"; that was left to the towns in their corporate capacities. But "general charge and superintendence" belonged to the school committees of the towns. They had authority over such matters as classification according to differences in intellectual and moral character and such as overcrowding in certain schools more desirable than others. There was no question of this authority so far as it concerned white children. And there was no provision in the law by which colored children were exempt from the same authority. The action of the school committee had of course to be reasonable. Under this test, Chandler found the action of Boston's school committee in good faith and for the best interests of the colored children. The committee had "a right to maintain special schools for colored children, such schools being, in all respects, as good as those for white children."[14] Here, for all practical purposes in education, it would seem, was the first statement of the legal doctrine of "separate but equal."

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[12] *Report of the Minority of the Committee of the Primary School Board* (Boston, 1846), pp. 19, 4, 13.

[13] Fletcher's opinion was printed in *ibid.*, pp. 6–7, and in *The Liberator*, Aug. 21, 1846.

Wendell Phillips spoke his mind on the opinion of Peleg Chandler in *The Liberator* of August 28, 1846. He grieved, he said, at "the strange sight" of a man in office "so little imbued with a knowledge of our laws or the spirit of our institutions." But there sat Chandler in the "post of persecuting the colored children." And through "the long waste of his pages," he did not give a single reason for his conclusions except he "thinks so." "Let me tell this young official," wrote Phillips, "that the moment the element of color mingles in any question, no confidence can be placed in any American court or church."

Even Justice Story, native of Massachusetts and another Member of this Society, had "sullied the lustre of a long life," said Phillips, "by a decision, the infamy of which even his long service cannot hide." This was a reference to the Prigg case of 1842, in which Story had held for the Supreme Court, on a writ of error to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, that Congress had exclusive power over the rendition of fugitive slaves and that no state could be obliged to enforce fugitive slave laws through its own officers. The decision angered Wendell Phillips because the implication was direct that Congress should enforce its laws against the wishes of the states.

But however caustic regarding the opinion of Chandler, Phillips was something of a prophet. "If it be a fact that the best interests of the white and colored children can only be secured by separate schools, then their best interests cannot be secured under any system of public State instruction."[15] They would have to resort to private schools. This apparently was the plan and the hope of Governor Almond and some of his associates, as this paper was written, after they had failed to maintain segregated schools in Virginia against the order of the federal judiciary and the decision of their own Supreme Court of Appeals.[16]

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[14] Chandler's opinion was printed in *Report to the Primary School Committee*, pp. 31–38, and in *The Liberator*, Aug. 28, 1846.

[15] *The Liberator*, Aug. 28, 1846. For *Prigg v. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, see 16 Peters 539 (1842).

[16] *New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1959, p. 28. Gov. Almond's address to the Virginia legislature is in the *Washington Post*, Jan. 21, 1959; the decision of the Virginia Supreme Court appeared in the *Post* on Jan. 20, 1959.

The visiting committee of 1846 found the Smith School in poor condition. There evidently had been little expenditure upon upkeep since its dedication by Judge Minot. The school board made extensive alterations and repairs at the cost of $2,000 in 1849. This, even so, did not soften the demand of the Abolitionists. A meeting of colored citizens on July 23 petitioned the mayor and aldermen to close the Smith School: "being a *caste*, an *exclusive school*, we regard it as a GREAT PUBLIC NUISANCE, which should be immediately annihilated." The colored people of Boston were being discriminated against in the land of their "nativity" and "solely on account of complexion" while Englishmen, Frenchmen, Irishmen, Germans, and Scotsmen were enjoying all "local privileges."[17]

The school board, annoyed on its part that the petitioners had not begun their campaign before the improvements were made, nevertheless appointed another committee to investigate. Again there were two reports. The second came this time from a minority of one. The majority objected to the charge of "conspiracy," the cry of "insult" to the race, and the claim that the separate school created an "odious distinction of caste." The facts were, it said, that the separation had grown up from the requests of colored persons with "honest prejudices" against having their children in the same schools with white children; and, instead of being forced upon them, "the innovation was allowed." There had been no "interdict" of the school authorities debarring colored children of "suitable qualifications" from the public schools.

This statement appears to have been historically correct, so far as can be determined from the evidence in the reports upon the origin of the separate school in Boston. But it does not make clear the power to determine those qualifications and to continue the separation, which Peleg Chandler found to have been legally vested in the school committee.

As for the denial to Negroes of "common rights," the majority reported that standards were as high in the separate schools as in the others. As for the charge that foreigners were favored over natives, the majority replied that the Irish immigrants realized that they were at a disadvantage in Boston and preferred to have their own schools; in their case, exclusiveness was an asset and it was "practical." And as for the distinction in regard to color, the majority asserted that there was no "invidious" discrimination. For anyone who believed otherwise, there was the statute of 1845 giving him the right to sue and to recover damages. The majority of the special committee would welcome a decision in regard to "complexional classes." The suit for Sarah Roberts was in fact on its way to the Supreme Judicial Court.

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[17] *Reports of the Annual Visiting Committees of the Public Schools of the City of Boston* (Boston, 1846), p. 151, quoted in Levy, *Law of the Commonwealth*, p. 110, n. 8; *The Liberator*, Aug. 10, 1849.

To sum its case for the school committee, the majority report defined the concept of equality in public instruction. It required care to be taken that "like means and facilities of education" were extended to all "with due regard to situations and capacities." It required also that no one should be "defrauded of an equal share in value of the elementary aids of instruction, or the proper helps, if self-competent, to advancement in the highest studies and acquisitions." These were designed by the laws to be "within the reach of every one."[18]

As the minority of one on the special committee, Charles T. Russell did not endeavor to reconcile equality with differences in capacities, situations, and facilities. Russell simply stated that he believed there to be "no moral or legal right to exclude colored children from the ordinary public schools of the city." No child in the state, whether rich, poor, strong, weak, influential, or obscure could have "any superior right over any other child to participate in the benefits of the common school." They all could "sit upon the same form, yield to the same discipline and participate equally in the struggle for the same honors." He proposed that the Smith School be continued for "such of the black children as may desire to attend it." He proposed also that it should be opened to adult colored persons "coming from the South and elsewhere . . . uneducated and needing such facilities."[19] It is not to be overlooked that the Underground Railroad was running through Boston in those days and that the slave-rescuing forays which were to infuriate Southerners were not many months away.

Upon the request of the committee, President Francis Wayland of Brown University wrote about the separate schools in Providence.

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[18] *Report of a Special Committee of the Grammar School Board . . . August 29, 1849* (Boston, 1849), pp. 22–36.

[19] Charles T. Russell, *Report of the Minority of the Committee . . . August 29th, 1849* (Boston, 1849), pp. 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, printed in a second issue of the *Report of a Special Committee . . . Aug. 29, 1849.*

The system worked well there, he said: it was "generally popular" among the colored people; they preferred it to mixed schools. Perhaps it was prejudice that prevented the whites from "intermingling in all circumstances." But prejudice was a fact. As long as it was so, it had to enter into "our practical arrangements." "It would not be wise," he said, "for the sake of opposing a prejudice, to break up our schools altogether."

Thomas P. Smith, graduate of the Smith School and a former student at Phillips Academy in Andover, published an address to the colored people in favor of continuing the school. If he believed "that colored schools stood directly in the way of our rights," he would strive to exterminate them. But he saw "no baleful influences, no degradation, no oppression or prejudice, *caused* by colored schools." They might be unnecessary in Lowell, Cambridge, and other places where colored people were few, yet they might be "extremely politic, expedient, and useful in Boston, Providence, New York and Philadelphia."

John H. Roberts, not the parent of Sarah but a "remonstrant" against the petition to abolish the Smith School, sent a special communication to a daily paper. "Colored schools, properly constructed," he said, were characterized by "the spirit of equality, of enterprise, emulation and friendship." On the other hand, "a colored class in a white school would of course be under the constant criticism of the whole school, and while circumstances and embarrassments would retard their progress, their delinquency would be falsely attributed to a natural inferiority."[20]

There was tension about the case of Sarah Roberts as it opened in the Supreme Judicial Court on Tuesday, December 4, 1849. Charles Sumner, accompanied by Robert Morris, a colored lawyer, came to make a stirring appeal for the rights of Negroes in Massachusetts to a noted justice on the bench. Lemuel Shaw dominated the thinking of his fellow judges as few have in the history of American jurisprudence.

In all but three of the fifty constitutional decisions in his career, Shaw spoke for a unanimous court, surpassing the record of John Marshall. Marshall's colleagues were unanimously with him in only twenty-three of thirty-six decisions. And Lemuel Shaw was but once in dissent in a total of 2,200 opinions.[21]

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[20] Wayland's, Smith's, and Roberts' communications are in the *Report of a Special Committee . . . Aug. 29, 1849*, pp. 40, 48*n.*, and 54–55.

Justice Fletcher was not present that day, and his absence was unexplained. He had in fact just been appointed to the Court on October 24; that may have had something to do with his not taking part. But the opinion which he had given to the school committee of Salem was reason enough for him to stay off the bench in this case. Richard Fletcher was already committed before the hearing to the cause of Sarah Roberts. Charles Sumner came prepared to use that opinion in his argument against the City of Boston. And William Lloyd Garrison was confident that he would meet with success. The next issue of *The Liberator* carried the prediction that the decision of the Court would be in Sarah's favor, for she had on her side the bill of rights, the law, and justice.[22]

Sumner referred quickly to the discord of five years in the school committee; he announced that his argument would show that under the constitution of the Commonwealth all men should be treated as equal before the law without distinction of color or race; and then he set up his men of straw. John C. Calhoun had declared in the Senate that the claim in the Declaration of Independence regarding equality was the most false and dangerous of all political errors. Lord Brougham had written in his *Political Philosophy* that "the notion of Equality, or anything approaching to Equality, among the different members of any community, is altogether wild and fanatic."[23]

With profuse erudition Charles Sumner swept through history to prove that both Senator Calhoun and Lord Brougham were wrong. He quoted Seneca's pronouncement that the first part of equity was equality. He did not use the statements of Cicero, another Roman of greater fame, though they would have served him well. But he brought to the attention of the Court the contributions of Cromwell, Milton, and Sidney; the thoughts of the French encyclopedists, Diderot and D'Alembert, for whom equality was the principle and foundation of liberty; Rousseau's essay on the origin of inequality and his "social contract"; and the ideas of the French Revolution, whence came his concept of "equality before the law." He even alluded to the "isonomy" or equality of law which the Greek historian Herodotus called "the fairest of names" for the "rule of the many."[24]

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[21] Levy, *Law of the Commonwealth*, pp. 25–26.

[22] *The Liberator*, Dec. 7, 1849; Adoniram J. Gordon, *The Service of a Good Life: a Discourse commemorative of . . . Richard Fletcher . . . delivered July 11, 1869* (Boston, 1869); *Argument of Charles Sumner . . . Dec. 4, 1849* (Boston, 1849), p. 24.

[23] Sumner, *Argument . . . Dec. 4, 1849*, pp. 3–5; John C. Calhoun, June 27, 1848, in the *Congressional Globe*, 30th Congress, 1st Session, 876; Lord Brougham, *Political Philosophy*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), Part II, chap. 4, p. 23.

Against this historical backdrop, Sumner placed Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and John Adams' Constitution of 1780 for Massachusetts, and moved then surely through the acts of the legislature and consequent decisions in the courts against discrimination to the action of Boston's school committee. It was not legal. It was not reasonable. It was wrong in its application of the caste system to Massachusetts.

Sumner's excursion to Portugal for his definition of caste and to India for examples of its enmity toward Christian principles was undoubtedly effective in the minds of many in his audience. American missionaries were overseas. To convert the heathen abroad and to free the slaves at home were companion purposes of evangelical churchmen in Massachusetts. Charles Sumner did not delay over distinctions and differences between India and America. He was making an emotional appeal as well as a legal argument to the Court. The school committee of Boston was given no power to discriminate on account of race or color; its discretion was confined to the allocation of numbers and the determination of qualifications according to age, sex, moral and intellectual fitness. The committee could not assume that an entire race possessed moral and intellectual qualities justifying separation in the public schools. A separate school was not a "public school"; it was not an "equivalent" (here was Fletcher's opinion); it was a "stigma of Caste," the "vestige of ancient intolerance against a despised people."

The sentiment of that people had changed from the "timidity and ignorance" in which their children shrank from places on the same benches with white children. They knew now their rights and they felt as a "peculiar brand" that "proscription from the Public Schools." They had the "grand revelation of Christianity," the brotherhood of mankind. In it, there was no longer "the imperious Spartan and the abased Helot." The welfare of all classes was promoted by "mutual acquaintance." There was now "equality before the law."

As he reached the climax of his oratory, Charles Sumner turned directly to the Court. One could wish to have been there to watch the rugged face and tousled head as Lemuel Shaw listened to the final exhortation:

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[24] *The History of Herodotus*, ed. George Rawlinson, 4 vols. (London, 1859–61), II, 394.

> But this is not all. The vaunted superiority of the white race imposes upon it corresponding duties. The faculties with which they are endowed, and the advantages they possess, are to be exercised for the good of all. If the colored people are ignorant, degraded, and unhappy, they should be the especial objects of your care. From the abundance of your possessions you must seek to remedy their lot. And this Court, which is as a parent to all the unfortunate children of the Commonwealth, will show itself most truly parental, when it reaches down, and, with the strong arm of the law, elevates, encourages, and protects its colored fellow-citizens.[25]

In his opinion for the Court, Lemuel Shaw took up where Charles Sumner left off. Both of them were deeply concerned for the role which the government should have as guardian of the welfare and the rights of persons in the Commonwealth. The "learned and eloquent advocate" of the plaintiff, said the Chief Justice, had advanced the great principle that "by the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, all persons without distinction of age or sex, birth or color, origin or condition, are equal before the law." As a "broad general principle" which should appear in a "declaration of rights," it was "perfectly sound"; not only was this expressed in the constitution, it pervaded and it animated the "whole spirit" of their "constitution of free government."[26]

But when he came to the application of that great principle to the "actual and various conditions of persons in society," Lemuel Shaw used that parental judgment which Sumner had urged upon the Court. The principle, said the Chief Justice, would not "warrant the assertion that men and women are legally clothed with the same civil and political powers," nor that "children and adults are legally to have the same functions and be subject to the same treatment." The principle warranted only this: "the rights of all" as they were "settled and regulated by law" were equally entitled to "the paternal consideration and protection of the law" for their "maintenance and security." What the rights were to which individuals were entitled in the "infinite variety of circumstances" surrounding them in society had to depend upon laws which were adapted to the "respective relations and conditions" of those persons.

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[25] Sumner, *Argument . . . Dec. 4, 1849*, pp. 6–32.

[26] *Sarah C. Roberts v. The City of Boston*, 5 Cushing 198 (1849).

After "a declaration of rights and constitution of government" had directed the form of the government and had regulated its organization and the distribution of its powers, the "proper province" of that declaration of rights and constitution was to declare "great principles and fundamental truths." But these principles and truths were to "influence the judgment and conscience of the legislators" rather than to "limit and control them" by directing what "precise laws" they should make.

The constitution of Massachusetts gave to the legislature the duty of cherishing the interests of literature and science in university and school but did not direct that there should be public institutions of learning. Had the legislature neglected public instruction, education in the Commonwealth would have been left to private institutions and there would have been for the "rising generation," said Shaw, "no remedy or redress"; it would have been deprived of a "most valuable education and introduction to useful life." Lemuel Shaw himself had taught school in his youth and had served on the school committee of Boston when the English High School was established.[27]

It was, then, to the act of the legislature, to the law, said the Chief Justice, that they must resort to ascertain what were "the rights of individuals, in regard to the schools." The legislature had provided for public instruction but had not determined how the public schools should be organized nor what qualifications were to be required for admission into them. Those matters were to be regulated under the "power of general superintendence" which had been assigned by law to the school committees. And, "apparently upon great deliberation," the school committee of Boston had come to the conclusion that "the good of both classes of schools" would be best promoted by "maintaining the separate primary schools for colored and for white children." The Court could not say that the decision of the committee was "not founded upon just grounds of reason and experience." It was a "discriminating and honest judgment."

As for the charge that the maintenance of separate schools tended to "deepen and perpetuate the odious distinction of caste, founded in a deep-rooted prejudice in public opinion," Lemuel Shaw had this to say: "This prejudice, if it exists, is not created by law, and probably cannot be changed by law." And it might well be doubted that it would not be so effectually fostered in the community if the colored and the white children were compelled to associate together in the same schools. In any case, that was a question for the school committee to decide, having in view "the best interests of both classes of children under their superintendence."

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[27] Frederic H. Chase, *Lemuel Shaw* (Boston, 1918), pp. 72–76.

With no mention of Justice Fletcher, Chief Justice Shaw declared on Monday, April 8, 1850, that the Court were "all of opinion" that Sarah Roberts had not been "unlawfully excluded from public instruction." She was not entitled to sue for damages under the Act of 1845.[28]

There was on Monday, April 22, 1850, an "Equal School Rights Meeting" to discuss the adverse decision and to make plans. Garrison published an account of it in *The Liberator* with Shaw's opinion in full and his own comment at the end. It filled Garrison with "astonishment"; it was so "unwarranted by the spirit of our laws." But he knew the answer to Shaw: the "people (who are greater than the Court) will, we are confident, remedy this injustice through the Legislature at the next session. The subject shall be agitated throughout the State." They would resort, as Shaw had said, to the law to ascertain what were their rights in regard to the schools.

The father of Sarah Roberts went on a speaking tour. A committee on education was appointed in the legislature. There was a report on the separate schools by Charles W. Slack and then a bill introduced by John A. Andrew, a future governor of Massachusetts. And in 1855 it was decreed by an act of the legislature that in the common schools of Massachusetts "no distinction shall be made on account of the race, color, or religious opinions, of the applicant or scholar." Sovereignty had come eventually to reside in the will of the people. Their representatives in the General Court of the Commonwealth did not overrule the opinion of the Supreme Judicial Court in the case of Sarah Roberts. They took discretion from the school committees of the state. They put an end to local option with regard to segregation. They changed the law. There was at work what Tocqueville observed in the democracy of America in this time, the "tyranny of the majority."[29] Nonetheless, there was and still is, as Lemuel Shaw said, an "infinite variety of circumstances" for man living among men. And a wise government is reluctant to be bound by laws so "precise" that they do not provide for the welfare of persons who are caught in the prejudices and antipathies of a community.

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[28] *Roberts v. Boston,* 5 Cushing 205, 209–210; *Boston Daily Advertiser,* April 8, 1850.

Southerners now opposing desegregation at the direction and under the supervision of the federal courts may be interested to recall a speech of Thaddeus Stevens, though in no mood for the ironic humor of it. On January 3, 1867, in the House of Representatives, Stevens declared that "no Government official, from the President and Chief Justice down," could do any act which was "not prescribed and directed" by Congress. He wanted "Negro suffrage in every rebel State"; but, on the subject of Negro equality, "much is said by knaves." It meant "to honest Republicans . . . just this much and no more . . . equal right to justice, liberty, and fair play with every other man." It did not mean that "a Negro should sit on the same seat or eat at the same table with a white man." That was "a matter of taste which every man must decide for himself." The law, said Stevens, "has nothing to do with it."[30]

Thaddeus Stevens, good hater, crabbed New Englander, was quite right. Much is said about equality by knaves. His suggestion for man living among men is simplest; perhaps it is best, though most difficult to attain—"fair play with every other man." Petr Kropotkin, prince in exile, anarchist philosopher, wrote: "No more laws! No more judges! Liberty, equality, and practical human sympathy are the only effectual barrier we can oppose to the anti-social instincts of certain amongst us."[31] But that is another paper.

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[29] *The Liberator*, April 26, 1850, copied from the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 16, 1850; Henry Wilson, *History . . . of the Slave Power in America*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1872–77), II, 640; *Massachusetts General Laws, 1855*, Chap. 256; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Francis Bowen, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1862), I, 330–334.

[30] *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, LXXVI (1867), 251.

[31] Petr A. Kropotkin, *Law and Authority: an Anarchist Essay* (London, 1886), p. 23.

# Henry Stevens, his Uncle Samuel, and the Franklin Papers

WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.*

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN bequeathed his manuscripts and papers to his grandson William Temple Franklin. Temple divided this inheritance, which included more than 15,000 separate pieces, into two unequal parts, leaving with a friend in Philadelphia about four-fifths of the manuscripts, including many letters to Franklin and much personal correspondence, but taking to London in 1790 some 3,000 items of political and philosophical interest, which he intended to publish. Temple worked slowly, when he worked at all, and more than a quarter of a century passed before his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin* appeared—simultaneously in two editions: three volumes quarto and six octavo. The manuscripts now no longer had interest or value for Temple; he deposited them with his banker; and after his death in 1823 his widow removed them. They were discovered seventeen years later, in 1840, carelessly stored in loose bundles on a shelf in the shop of a tailor in St. James's, London.[1]

Of the man who found them nothing is known except that he is said to have shared an apartment with Temple Franklin above the tailor's shop twenty-five years before, and that he was, in 1840, "an officer under government." This unknown civil servant had some appreciation of his trove, and he offered the manuscripts to Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office, to the British Museum, and to a succession of American ministers in London. All believed, as did the owner of the manuscripts, that most had been printed in Temple Franklin's edition of his grandfather's writings and were therefore of little value. Only George

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* This paper was read at the December, 1959, meeting.

[1] This story has been told often, most of it first in *Stevens's Historical Collections. Catalogue of the First Portion of the . . . Books and Manuscripts relating chiefly to . . . America . . . which will be sold by Auction, by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge . . . On Monday, 11th of July, 1881, and Four following Days . . .*, pp. 159–176. These pages were revised and reprinted as Henry Stevens, *Benjamin Franklin's Life and Writings: A Bibliographical Essay On the Stevens' Collection of Books and Manuscripts Relating to Doctor Franklin* (London, 1881). The revision was dedicated to Junius Spencer Morgan, for reasons related below.

Bancroft, minister to Great Britain from 1846 to 1849, it is said, was sufficiently interested to report the matter to the Secretary of State,[2] but his communication must have been a personal one, and nothing came of it. Early in 1850 the owner of the collection waited on yet another American minister just arrived in London. Abbott Lawrence's instructions, like his predecessors', contained nothing about purchasing historical manuscripts; but, perhaps prompted by the secretary of the Legation, John C. Bancroft Davis, he sent his caller to Henry Stevens, an American bookseller in London.

A nephew of George Bancroft, young Davis had been appointed secretary of the London legation in the summer of 1849. He found quarters in Morley's Hotel in the Strand, where Henry Stevens also lived. The two men, both bachelors and both interesting members of the American colony, enjoyed much of London life together and quickly formed a lasting friendship. Stevens, the son of a Vermont farmer and antiquarian, had paid his way through Yale College by copying historical manuscripts for libraries and scholars and had come to London in 1845 with the encouragement of Jared Sparks and "a few Yankee notions in my head and an ample fortune of nearly forty sovereigns in pocket." His success had been prompt and unqualified, and even he was astonished by it. He found "new old books every day," he wrote Sparks, "and of Mss. there is no end."[3] He paid good prices and sold for better, and soon cornered the London market in American books and became the principal purveyor of Americana to the British Museum and to collectors like James Lenox and John Carter Brown.

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[2] Benjamin F. Stevens to Theodore F. Dwight, Nov. 2, 1878, T. F. Dwight Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society). Stevens' name is abbreviated in footnotes below to: BFS.

[3] Henry Stevens to Jared Sparks, Nov. 1, 1845, Sparks Manuscripts (Harvard University Library). Henry Stevens' name is abbreviated in footnotes hereafter to: HS.

On HS, see his *Recollections of Mr. James Lenox of New York and the Formation of his Library* (London, 1886; new edition, New York, 1951), and Wyman W. Parker, "Henry Stevens: The Making of a Bookseller," Bibliographical Society of America, *Papers*, XLVIII (1954), 149–169, and "Henry Stevens Sweeps the States," *ibid.*, LII (1958), 249–261. Mr. Parker, librarian of Wesleyan University, has made a special study of HS, not yet published, which he generously allowed me to read, and he has in other ways given me the benefit of his understanding of Stevens' character and relations.

Probably a measure of HS' position in the American community is that he compiled *An Account of the Proceedings at the Dinner given by Mr. George Peabody to the Americans connected with the Great Exhibition . . . on the 27th October, 1851* (London, 1851). It is interesting to note that in his two-page preface HS mentioned Benjamin Franklin three times.

Nathaniel Hawthorne thought HS "a kindly and pleasant man," but one secretary of the American Legation described him as "a coarse, vulgar, English looking libidinous Yankee, full of assumption, pretension and impudence." Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks*, ed. Randall Stewart (New York, 1941), p. 326; *The Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1857–1865*, eds. Sarah A. Wallace and Frances E. Gillespie (Chicago, 1948–1949), I, 487. But Moran disapproved of most of the people he met, and his bitter characterizations must be treated with great reserve.

Stevens hurried at once to inspect the Franklin manuscripts that Abbott Lawrence's visitor had for sale; and in three days they were his. He then wrote his friend Sparks for information about all Franklin's papers.[4] No one was better informed on the subject, for Jared Sparks, professor of history in Harvard College, the foremost editor of the papers of early Americans, had prepared a ten-volume edition of Franklin's works, which included a great deal of material not before (and still not otherwise) available. Sparks had even learned in 1829, through the American consul in Paris, that Temple Franklin's widow owned his papers, though she would allow no one to see them. Stevens offered his patron relatively little information about the discovery, however. "There is no mystery about the matter, and nothing to conceal," he explained, "but as so much noise was made foolishly about the Washington Books I thought I would hold this matter in the dark until I had got the papers arranged, bound and catalogued. But as soon as I can I will tell you the whole story." Sparks answered Stevens fully, then waited impatiently for more information. It was slow in coming, and disappointing when it came. "I have been doing nothing with the Franklin papers for some time," Stevens confessed after a year, "having so many other affairs on hand." A few details were tantalizing enough—the papers were voluminous; the unpublished manuscripts would make at least five volumes; there were twenty-five letters from Vergennes to Franklin alone which were not in Sparks's *Franklin*. Two more years passed in this way until Sparks made a concrete proposal to publish all Franklin's letters and a selection of the other letters in Stevens' collection. Sparks offered to edit them, arrange for and superintend their publication, and give Stevens two-thirds of the profits with a two-thirds interest in the work. The books might be designed as a continuation of his edition; and as several thousand sets of that had been sold "and nearly all the purchasers would, of course, desire to have the work complete," Sparks reckoned there should be "a ready sale for a pretty large number of copies" of the supplement. His principal interest, he assured Stevens, was to complete the publication of the writings of Benjamin Franklin.

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[4] The Stevens-Sparks-Palfrey correspondence quoted and cited in this and the following paragraphs is preserved in the Sparks MSS at Harvard; much of it is printed in Herbert B. Adams, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (Boston, 1893), II, 520–533. The quotations in this paper are taken from the original MSS, but, except as indicated, this general reference to Adams is deemed sufficient.

Stevens inclined to accept the offer. "The only question is as to the effect of the publication on the price which I mean to demand of the Congress," which he said should be "at least $25,000." But, concluding with Sparks that publication would probably not depress the value of the papers, he replied that he was "willing to place the whole collection in your hands, on the terms you offer. You, with all your resources, can make more of these MSS. than any one else." As soon as he heard from Sparks he would send over "at once . . . such of the Volumes as are already bound and the others as fast as they are ready." Though it was explicit enough, the promise meant nothing. At this time, for example, not more than half a dozen letter books had been bound. Six months later Stevens assured Mrs. Sparks that the papers were "packed up at last" and ready to ship to Boston;[5] but they did not come. They disappeared instead into a London bank vault. In February, 1854, Stevens confessed that he had had to deposit them with his banker George Peabody as security for a loan; and he suggested that Sparks advance the sum—£500–£700—necessary to redeem them. The temptation was strong, but Sparks rejected it. Stevens was unperturbed by the refusal, confident that he would get the money from another source or be able to persuade Peabody to release the papers anyhow. Sparks's inquiries about the collection during 1855 received the customary assurances that they were on their way, the usual plausible apologies and explanations why they did not come.[6]

Not quite resigned to never seeing the new Franklin manuscripts, Sparks took the opportunity of a visit to England in 1856 by his friend John G. Palfrey to get an accurate, impartial description of them. Palfrey gave the papers "a good examination," which convinced him that they were "of great interest & importance . . . embracing much valuable new matter." He was convinced that Stevens wanted Sparks to edit them and he urged Sparks to discharge the debt to Peabody: "Unless I am mistaken in the character & value of these papers, you should have the use of them. . . . I should think it was worth a good deal to you to secure them." But Sparks did not advance the money; and when Palfrey tried to learn on what terms Peabody would release the manuscripts, Stevens kept him away from the banker,[7] but assured him, instead, that he would send Sparks the papers very shortly. "So he says, & intends," reported Palfrey, who had not yet learned to discount Stevens' promises.

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[5] HS to Mrs. Sparks, Dec. 8, 1853, Sparks MSS.

[6] HS to Mrs. Sparks, Jan. 26, 1855; to Sparks, May 17, 1855, Sparks MSS.

The next spring Sparks had a long talk with Peabody, who had come to America on business. The banker agreed it was desirable to publish the documents; he was willing that Sparks should see the papers, provided his lien was protected and Stevens concurred in the arrangement. Sparks accordingly examined the Franklin papers in London in July, 1857, but when he asked Stevens' permission to make copies, the bookseller demurred and procrastinated. This was partly because of genuine pressure of other business—Stevens was seldom without several pressing literary obligations at any time; partly because he clung to an unformed scheme of editing the papers and writing a life of Franklin himself; partly, perhaps, because as a bookman he appreciated that the longer the papers remained secret, the more attractive they became to a future purchaser. At any rate Sparks returned to Boston empty-handed, and the manuscripts remained in the vaults of Peabody's bankinghouse.

Henry Stevens' Franklin collection comprised nearly 3,000 pieces. Hundreds were letters to Franklin; there were notes, memoranda, drafts of letters and essays by him. Some dated from his earliest manhood; there was a letter book kept during his long residence in London before the Revolution; but most belonged to the period of his mission to France, 1776–1785: correspondence with the French government about loans, supplies, and troops; correspondence relating to the Treaty of Alliance with France and to the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with European countries; letters and memoirs on the peace negotiations, including a full correspondence with David Hartley, one of the British commissioners. There were in addition to these great blocks of manuscripts some individual pieces of greatest interest: a copy of the Continental Congress' Petition to the King of 1774 (the other copy was in the Public Record Office), young Franklin's private liturgy called Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion, and the letter of June 25, 1745, now generally known as Advice to a Young Man on the Choice of a Mistress.

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[7] Palfrey to Sparks, May 20, 1856; HS to Palfrey, July 19, 1856, Sparks MSS.

To the manuscript collection Stevens added, as the years passed, hundreds of printed books, by and about Franklin, issues from his press, some of the greatest rarity, like the *Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity,* but all essentially part of a Franklin library. They formed, Stevens later said, "a sample of what one may achieve in a single generation in London by good luck, persistence, vigilance and a dogged weakness for sacrificing other worldly gains to a pet object."[8]

Stevens bought Franklin books openly in both London and America, and in historically informed circles it became known that he also owned a great collection of manuscripts. Yet during the first ten years he had them Stevens allowed very few, besides Sparks and Palfrey, to see the papers. One of the few, of course, was Bancroft Davis, whose personal knowledge of the collection was to be of great help to Stevens some years later. Another was former President Martin Van Buren, who, visiting London during a long European tour, spent parts of two days examining the papers at Morley's, and exclaimed that they were worth not less than $40,000.[9] And the American consul at Liverpool, dining with the Stevenses in 1856, was shown some of his host's bibliographic treasures and allowed to hold "a whole little volume in Franklin's handwriting, being the first specimen of it." So Nathaniel Hawthorne described what was certainly Franklin's book of private devotion.[10]

The collection, pledged to Peabody in 1854, emerged in 1860. In that year, when Stevens' indebtedness amounted to £1,119 (interest accumulated at eight per cent), the banker pressed hard, and Stevens paid off the debt and regained his collection in June, 1860. Four years later, however, now deeply in debt to Charles Whittingham & Co., proprietors of the Chiswick Press, his printers, Stevens turned over the papers as security. He offered his creditors £1,500 to redeem them in 1866, but the offer was refused.[11] Not until 1878 was anything heard of them again.

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[8] HS, *Benjamin Franklin's Life and Writings,* p. 1.

[9] HS to BFS, Dec. 31, 1880, Henry Stevens, Copy Book, I, 34, Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, Great Russell Street, London. This paper could not have been written without the help of the present Mr. Henry Stevens, grandson of HS. In response to my inquiry whether his firm still possessed any records of the sale of the Franklin collection, Mr. Stevens made a search through his shop and found two books containing press copies of HS' business correspondence in 1878–1883. He offered to have the relevant letters filmed or photostated, but before I could ask him to do so, he decided it would be more convenient for me to consult the books personally. He therefore sent them to his New York office, from which Mr. Roland A. L. Tree allowed me to take them to New Haven to use. In addition, Mr. Stevens had several letters, not in these two copy books, transcribed for me. I hope that the relation of these facts will indicate more clearly than any general expression of gratitude the debt which yet another student has contracted to the company of scholarly booksellers on both sides of the Atlantic.

[10] Hawthorne, *English Notebooks,* p. 327.

With the death of Charles Whittingham in 1876, the first firm step was taken which led to the purchase of the collection by the United States government. Obliged to settle the Whittingham estate and knowing that Henry Stevens could not discharge his indebtedness any other way, the executors concluded that the Franklin papers must be sold. It was hard for Stevens to face the fact; what made it harder was that one of the executors was his own brother Frank.

Benjamin Franklin Stevens, fourteen years younger than Henry, had learned the book business from his brother. He had a good deal of Henry's Yankee individualism and ingenuity and quite as much ability; but he was a better businessman, a more thoughtful planner and efficient executive. He had left Henry's employ in 1864, married Charlotte Whittingham, and eventually became a partner in his father-in-law's firm. Appointed United States Government Despatch Agent in London in 1866, he was in charge of the diplomatic pouch and responsible for forwarding foreign publications to United States government agencies.[12] Though they were not competitors, Henry Stevens sometimes resented his brother's success, and Frank's part in forcing the Franklin papers to sale roiled at least temporarily the brothers' relationship.

As a businessman Frank Stevens realized that the United States government was the likeliest buyer of the papers; and as a bookman and an American he wanted them to join the papers of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison in the city of Washington. In addition, he believed that he had influential friends in the government who could get Congress to make the necessary appropriation.[13] Accordingly, without Henry's knowledge, Frank Stevens wrote the librarian of the State Department, Theodore F. Dwight,[14] on November 2, 1878.[15] After asking a great many questions about the government's acquisition and publication of historical manuscripts, he continued:

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[11] For the facts in this paragraph I am indebted to Wyman W. Parker.

[12] G. Manville Fenn, *Memoir of Benjamin Franklin Stevens* (London, 1903); Arthur Warren, *The Charles Whittinghams, Printers* (New York, 1896).

[13] BFS to HS, Dec. 22, 1880, Copy Book, I, 89.

[14] Theodore Frelinghuysen Dwight (1846–1917), born in Albany, New York, edu-

> I have in my possession *in trust, and in confidence,* a very great mass of Franklin papers. With them are many letters of contemporaneous Statesmen American, French, English, Spanish, Dutch &c. &c.
>
> My time is so fully occupied I can at present go over the papers only superficially but I shall endeavour to go into them most thoroughly.
>
> Who has had any thing to do with them heretofore?
>
> Have they been examined and reported upon?
>
> Can they be secured for our Government?
>
> What course has our Government pursued heretofore with other valuable historical papers? These and many more similar questions are thronging through my mind but I have already asked too many.

A private letter from B. F. Stevens' managing clerk, Edward C. Bigmore, a personal friend of Dwight, left no doubt what Stevens was proposing: "The end for which Mr. S. looks is to offer them to the State Department."[16]

Frank Stevens began at once the long task of arranging the letters, checking each against Sparks's editions of Franklin's writings and of the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution.* "The magnitude of the Franklin Manuscripts seems to grow as my interest increases in the great labour of examination and preparation for more ready reference & further examination." In terms calculated to excite Dwight's interest he wrote delightedly that the correspondence "brings one very close to Adams, Jay, Laurens, Deane, Lee, Hartley, Oswald, Vergennes, Lafayette, Sartine, Paul Jones and many others. The little

cated at the Collegiate Institute in Rochester, had tried his hand in business in California, served as private secretary to George Bancroft, and in 1875 joined the State Department staff, becoming chief of the Bureau of Rolls and Library in 1882. A man of wide culture, considerable charm and diplomatic address, he was a key figure in the Franklin negotiations. As a boy he collected autographs; he continued the hobby into maturity and even thought of preparing a manual for collectors. He had a sense of history and the importance of historical materials. He left the State Department in 1888, served four years as research assistant and factotum to Henry Adams in Washington and Quincy, and was the not-too-successful librarian of the Boston Public Library in 1892–1894. He was appointed American consul at Vevey, Switzerland, in 1904, and resigned in 1914. There are many references to Dwight in Harold D. Cater, ed., *Henry Adams and his Friends* (Boston, 1947); and see Walter M. Whitehill, *Boston Public Library: A Centennial History* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 129–130; *Register of the Department of State, November 10, 1913* (Washington, 1913), p. 70; and Dwight's letters, principally about autographs, to Mellen Chamberlain (Boston Public Library), Gordon Ford (New York Public Library), Richard Henry Dana and others (Yale University Library).

[15] BFS to Dwight, Nov. 2, 1878, Dwight Papers.

[16] Bigmore to Dwight, Nov. 2, 1878, Dwight Papers.

quarrels and the little confidences are nearly all suppressed in the *printed* correspondence and the amount of matter *never* printed is very great and of the utmost historical importance and interest."[17] For more than a year Stevens and Bigmore worked on the collection. Each manuscript was transcribed, and the typed transcripts were read by experienced proofreaders. From time to time they reported their progress to Dwight, adding their hope that he might be sent to London to report on the collection for the government.[18]

In March, 1880, the preparation was nearly completed. Frank Stevens sent Bigmore to America to discuss the sale personally with officers of the State Department and others.[19] But the government took no action, and Frank Stevens determined that Henry must put the collection up at auction. This, he calculated, would bring pressure on Washington to take favorable action; at least, it would bring in some cash to discharge Henry's indebtedness to Whittingham's estate. Informed at last of what his brother had been doing with his precious "Franklins," Henry reproached him as ungenerous and unbrotherly. "This elephant has been a life long pet companion," Henry complained to Bancroft Davis, "& I have well nigh spent my substance in nursing him and collecting facts, incidents and inferences respecting Franklin."[20] Frank turned his brother's charge aside tolerantly: "I've got the notion that a Sausage skin is not so full of crumbs & meat as you are filled with misapprehensions & Errors concerning me & my motives." He believed he could get a good price for the collection if he acted swiftly. As for price, he had mentioned no figure, "but when too hard pressed I have talked of £7000 in much the same way as you at one time talked of £8000." He was so sure the collection would bring £4000, he continued in an example of the Yankee trader, that "I should struggle very hard when getting down to or below £6000 in the hope of drawing a £5000 offer."[21]

Henry had no alternative but to give reluctant assent. He would rather have the collection sold at auction than "hawked about for sale in America."[22] The brothers finally agreed that the United States government should be given an option until March 4 to buy for £7,000 the manuscripts Henry acquired in 1850, "together with all books and manuscripts added since, including Franklin's Poor Richard's & Pocket Almanacs, Pennsylvania Gazettes, rare books written or printed by Franklin; indeed every thing of every description that I have accumulated in reference to Franklin, without any reserve."[23] Accordingly Frank Stevens made the formal offer to the State Department on January 1.[24]

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[17] BFS to Dwight, Dec. 7, 1878, Dwight Papers.

[18] BFS to Dwight, Dec. 13, 1878, Jan. 11, March 1, 1879; Bigmore to Dwight, Oct. 28, 1879, March 2, 1880, Dwight Papers.

[19] Bigmore's diary kept on this American visit is in possession of B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., of London, but could not be consulted.

[20] HS to Davis, Jan. 6, 1881, Copy Book, I, 62.

[21] BFS to HS, Dec. 22, 1880, Copy Book, I, 89.

Naturally enough, like all who wished the government to buy the papers, Frank Stevens emphasized the official character of the manuscripts. "The collection may to a considerable extent as well be called the Peace Commissioners documents as Franklins," he wrote Dwight. "They give us a very great mass of information at a period of our history when our foreign affairs are not well written up and the field shows up Franklin in the best possible light as an American as well as a diplomatist."[25] Almost nothing, by contrast, was said of the personal and scientific papers, which the State Department could hardly justifiably be asked to buy.

Secretary Evarts submitted Stevens' offer to Congress on January 18, earnestly requesting "the immediate attention of Congress to the opportunity thus offered."[26] Dwight lobbied discreetly, and Bigmore came to Washington to be available to describe the extent and contents of the collection. When some members of Congress objected to the asking price, Bigmore carefully explained how the figure had been reached:

> That portion of the Manuscripts which has not been printed has been very carefully cast and found that it would, if put into type, make 2430 pages of the size and type of Sparks. The writers who contribute to popular Magazines such as *Harper's* are paid at the rate of $10 a page—if we take the unpublished Franklin papers as of this literary value leaving aside their great autographic and historic importance and value we have a total of $24,300.
>
> The published papers make 1440 pages and having regard to the many errors and omissions of editorship may be valued at $5 a page or $7,200.
>
> The Petition to the King, of considerably more historical importance than

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[22] HS to J. S. Storr, Dec. 22, 1880; to BFS, Dec. 24, 1880, Copy Book, I, 15, 23.

[23] HS to BFS, Dec. 31, 1880, Copy Book, I, 34.

[24] 46 Cong., 3 sess., Sen. Exec. Doc., No. 25, pp. 2–3.

[25] BFS to Dwight, Jan. 19, 1881, Dwight Papers.

[26] 46 Cong., 3 sess., Sen. Exec. Doc., No. 25.

> Washington's Farewell Address, the original of which was sold in London and bought by Mr. James Lenox, may be estimated as worth as at least as much: £500.
>
> The editorial work that has occupied some two years or more; making two copies of every paper and carefully reading them with the originals and where printed with the printed copies; the careful catalogue of the Manuscripts; and the many rare and valuable books printed by or relating to Franklin, may be cheaply estimated as worth £1000.
>
> These figures make a total of about $39,000 and it was finally decided to offer the whole Collection to the Government for £7000.[27]

The explanation failed to convince the Joint Committee on the Library that the price was right. Partly this was because Bigmore himself admitted that the manuscripts would bring only £5,000–£6,000 at auction, but principally because the Congressmen, like Secretary Evarts, reckoned that any Vermonter who asked £7,000 for a parcel of goods would gladly accept £5,000. This is the amount they were prepared to recommend.[28] "This must go for what it is worth," Henry Stevens wrote scornfully when he heard, "a Yankee whittling and bargaining."[29] He would accept not a cent less than $35,000, he told his American correspondents firmly. "Uncle Samuel may whittle and chaw and bargain as much as he pleases but unless he comes square up to my figures he loses these Sibyline leaves."[30] That was a great deal of money for the collection, he admitted to Bancroft Davis, "but there is a great deal of Uncle Sams history and glory in it."[31] To Ben. Perley Poore he was more explicit: "Uncle Sam is hard at a bargain sometimes, and very foolish at others. But he, in this case, must accept my terms, or lose these sibylline leaves. I'll have no bartering with him, as I had with the solid men of Boston when I agreed to accept $4,000 for my 300 Washington Books with Washington's Autographs & then on one Boston plea after another never received for the Collection but $2700. When the solid men had got the books in possession, they declared the swan a goose & cut me down to $2700 & so maintained it till we had passed receipts, when the poor bird was a swan again. . . . Well in this case I am willing that our Government shall have the Collection if it desires it, but at my price. My experience teaches me that my price is fair & reasonable."[32]

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[27] Bigmore to Dwight, Feb. 1, 1881, Dwight Papers.

[28] HS to John Sherman, Jan. 5, 1882, Copy Book, II, 26.

[29] HS to Ben. Perley Poore, Feb. 17, 1881, Copy Book, I, 166.

[30] HS to Henry O. Houghton, Feb. 12, 1881, MS, Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles; see also HS to A. R. Spofford, Feb. 12, 1881, Copy Book, I, 138.

[31] HS to Davis, Feb. 3, 1881, Copy Book, I, 131.

Meanwhile the Committee had asked the American Minister in London to examine the Franklin collection and give his opinion of its value. Stevens was confident that "with the sharpness of Hosea Bigelow," James Russell Lowell would come to no other conclusion than that Uncle Samuel should get the papers while he could.[33] Stevens' confidence was misplaced, for Hosea Bigelow had his own methods of calculating value. On February 14 Lowell cabled Secretary Evarts: "Do not think Franklin papers worth five thousand pounds. Would not, in my opinion, bring so much by auction."[34]

Lowell's telegram thus dashed the hopes not only of Frank Stevens, but of Dwight, who had worked to get the collection; and with the session coming to a close in a few days, nothing more could be done. Thus, when Congress adjourned on March 4, it had failed to take up its option on the Franklin papers; it had, however, in effect established a fair evaluation of them; and Henry Stevens was using this to regain control of the collection.

Henry had agreed to the sale of the papers with the greatest reluctance. Though he had done little with them, he still held high hopes, thought of editing them himself and of writing a life of Franklin. To this end, for example, he purchased the copyright and plates of Sparks's *Franklin*.[35] When the collection was offered to Congress he wrote, almost wistfully, to Davis, the publisher Henry Houghton, and others that he hoped it might be sold subject to his right to edit the manuscripts. "With my knowledge so far acquired & with the Public Record Office and the British Museum at elbow, I feel confident I have resources buried which no one else will ever command." He even conceded he might let the collection go for less if Congress would allow him to realize this "scheme of life."[36]

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[32] HS to Ben. Perley Poore, Feb. 17, 1881, Copy Book, I, 166. On the sale of the Washington books, see Parker, "Henry Stevens Sweeps the States," pp. 254–260.

[33] HS to Davis, Feb. 3, 1881, Copy Book, I, 131.

[34] Lowell to Evarts, Feb. 14, 1881 (telegram), Great Britain, Diplomatic Despatches, No. 141, National Archives, Washington. See also Bigmore to Dwight, Feb. 27, 1881, Dwight Papers.

[35] HS to BFS, Dec. 31, 1880; to Davis, Feb. 3, 1881, Copy Book, I, 34, 131; HS to H. O. Houghton, Jan. 6, 1881, MS, Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.

[36] HS to Davis, Jan. 6, 1881 (two letters, one marked "Private & Confidential"), Copy Book, I, 62, 68.

This was only dreaming, and Henry knew it. He could, however, try to regain control of his beloved "Franklins," and he did. Early in January, a few days after he authorized his brother Frank to offer the collection to the government, he obtained from the Whittingham executors a statement of his "bottom line" indebtedness; it came to £2,871 12*s.* 6*d.* to January 13.[37] Informing no one but his son, Henry laid his situation before a wealthy customer and friend then visiting Rome, asking if he would discharge the debt in return for a lien on the collection. Within two weeks he had a favorable reply. "*Good* letter from Rome," he exclaimed to young Henry; "O.K. Keep your mouth shut."[38] This good letter explains the firmness with which Henry Stevens rejected every suggestion from Washington to sell his collection for less than £7,000.

What he had done was to ask the help of Junius Spencer Morgan. There were reasons why he should have done so. Stevens often sold the banker rare American books and manuscripts. As George Peabody's partner twenty-five years before, Morgan knew something about the Franklin collection. There were other, more personal links. Junius Morgan's son, John Pierpont Morgan, was taught in the schools of Hartford, Connecticut, by Henry's sister Sophia; and Pierpont Morgan twenty years before, in the first months of the American Civil War, had lent Henry's brother Simon the money to buy 5,000 Hall carbines, which Simon had contracted to sell to General John C. Fremont.[39] Henry had insisted that the collection must remain together, and Morgan's action enabled Henry to repossess the Franklins and hold them until another, and successful, appeal to the United States government could be made.

When Congress adjourned without taking action on the collection, Frank Stevens, still in ignorance of Henry's correspondence with Rome, pressed for an immediate sale at auction. The date was fixed for April 25. His intention, as Bigmore explained to Dwight, was "to offer them at the auction in April with a reserve of £7000 so that if any one will give more, which is not unlikely, the Government loses them. If no one will give more they will be then held for the Government by the Whittinghams at £7000—or the Manuscripts alone at £6000."[40] Meanwhile Morgan had returned to London. Bancroft Davis sent him an analysis of the Library Committee's views, with assurance that the members believed the collection was worth not less than £5,000. On April 12 Henry's creditors met, on summons from Morgan, in the banker's office; and, especially on Frank Stevens' part, with mingled gratification and surprise, they were all paid off—the Whittingham estate, Sotheby's, who had made Henry an advance on some items in the sale, and Frank Stevens himself. The total came to £3,524 5*s*.[41] "I am free, & Franklin is free," Henry exulted to Bancroft Davis.[42] He was "not yet out of the woods, though pretty nearly out of Frank's brotherly clutches."[43] Henceforth negotiations for the sale of the collection were between Henry Stevens and the government.

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[37] HS to J. S. Storr, Jan. 10, 1881; to BFS, Jan. 20, 1881, Copy Book, I, 79, 103.

[38] HS to Henry N. Stevens, Jan. 25, 27, 1881, Copy Book, I, 109, 115.

[39] R. Gordon Wasson, *The Hall Carbine Affair: A Study in Contemporary Folklore* (New York, 1948), pp. 66–71, 81.

With the new administration in Washington a new chapter opened in the history of the Stevens Franklin collection. Theodore Dwight, who had been in the State Department six years, part of the time doing the work of two men, and who had been disappointed in his prospects there when Congress abolished the position he had been promised, hinted broadly to the new Secretary, James G. Blaine, that he would be willing to stay if the Department would send him abroad to examine the Franklin papers that Congress might have an impartial evaluation of them. This was, he said, a matter he had "very much at heart." Blaine granted the request at once,[44] and on May 30 Dwight reached London, where he took lodgings at Franklin's old house, 7 Craven Street, off the Strand. "He looks like business," Stevens reported to Junius Morgan.[45]

Dwight fell to work on June 7. Each day for three weeks he carried on his inspection of the papers in the room in the British Museum where Henry Stevens had deposited them in Morgan's name. Dwight turned over every manuscript, compared it with the printed version, if there was one, and checked the transcripts. In the evening he sometimes dined at Vermont House, as the Green Mountain Boy had somewhat pretentiously styled his villa in St. John's Wood, and there looked over the Franklin books.[46] While Dwight was still at his task, Evarts came abroad and saw for the first time the collection whose purchase he had recommended to Congress six months before. The Petition to the King alone changed his mind about the papers' value, and, though now a private citizen, he returned to America convinced that Stevens' price was not excessive.[47]

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[40] Bigmore to Dwight, March 16, 1881, Dwight Papers.

[41] HS to Morgan, April 12, 1881; to BFS, April 22, 1881, Copy Book, I, 261, 275. To his brother Simon HS wrote, Aug. 13, 1881 (Copy Book, I, 510): "Morgan is a trump & when he saw how I was set upon by 'the Executors' he came right up to the mark & told Frank that for Harry's sake [HS' son] he would advance the Money, & that he did not like to see his old friend Henry Stevens set upon in this way. He had seen the accounts, & thought him a 'hard Man.' "

[42] HS to Davis, May 7, 1881, Copy Book, I, 304.

[43] HS to Simon Stevens, June 25, 1881, Copy Book, I, 431.

[44] Dwight to James G. Blaine, April 25, 1881, Dwight Papers; Blaine to Dwight, May 9, 1881, Department of State, Special Missions, III, 331–335, National Archives.

[45] HS to Morgan, May 30, 1881, Copy Book, I, 377.

Meanwhile Stevens had completed the catalogue of his sale, which was to take place in July. Lot 1269 was described as "comprising nearly THREE THOUSAND different Manuscripts, a large portion of them Autographic, and nearly Three Hundred volumes of printed books of and concerning Franklin, among them almost all of the earliest and rarest ones known." The description, which filled twenty-nine pages, opened with a short history of the Franklin papers which vindicated William Temple Franklin from the oft-repeated charge that he had accepted a bribe from the British government to suppress or destroy some of his grandfather's papers and delay the publication of the rest. The story, Stevens asserted flatly, was false; the truth was simply that "William Temple Franklin was a slow coach, honest, earnest, proud of his charge, opinionated, laborious and fussy; but at the same time he was an unmethodical muddler, an incompetent editor, and uncommonly dilatory in his habits." Stevens told much about the papers, but he was too canny a businessman to tell all. The remainder of the story (if there was in fact much more to tell) "and more private information" would be revealed only to the purchaser, or kept for Stevens' own use.

He mailed a flood of copies of the sales catalogue to booksellers from Chicago to Adelaide, from Montreal to Madras. To private collectors —like Henry Adams, H. H. Bancroft, R. A. Brock, Mellen Chamberlain, Mrs. John Carter Brown, Daniel Coit Gilman in America, for instance—he called particular attention to Lot 1269. He urged George H. Moore of the New-York Historical Society to come over and look at the papers for himself.[48] "I hope some of your northern millionaires will take a fancy to buy the Collection for some public library," he wrote the editor of the *Derby Mercury*.[49] One of them nearly did: in June, 1881, the Birmingham manufacturer Richard Tangye was seriously considering the purchase, but was dissuaded at the last moment by a friend who wanted the cash for Birmingham philanthropies.[50]

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[46] HS to Dwight, June 4, July 19, 1881, Dwight Papers; to Morgan, June 15, 1881, Copy Book, I, 413.

[47] HS to John Sherman, Jan. 5, 1882, Copy Book, II, 26; *N. Y. Daily Tribune*, Feb. 12, 1883, p. 6.

Dwight completed his inspection of the Franklin papers on June 27. In reply to his formal inquiry Stevens gave assurance that his preference was "strongly in favor of my own and Franklin's Country becoming the future possessors" of the collection, and that if the Secretary of State would again recommend it to Congress for purchase at £7,000, he would withdraw it from the auction and give the government the right of preemption until January 1, 1882.[51] Dwight recommended that the Secretary accept Stevens' terms.

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[48] HS to Moore, May 7, 1881, Copy Book, I, 305.

[49] HS to Alfred Wallis, June 9, 1881, Copy Book, I, 398.

[50] HS to Richard Tangye, June 9, 11, 30, July 9, 12, Copy Book, I, 396, 403, 446, 462, 472. To Dwight, Jan. 5, 1882 (Dwight Papers) HS revealed how narrowly the United States government came to losing the collection: "Mr. Tangye the liberal millionaire of Birmingham, wrote me several letters & sent an expert up to town twice to see the Collection, and had made up his mind to take it at £7000 the Monday before I withdrew it from the sale. I wrote him frankly that you had completed your examination and report, & were willing to secure it for the U. S. Government at the same price, but that, as I had offered it to him, he might still have it provided he could decide before Wednesday. With this letter in hand he went on Tuesday to his confidential Friend Mr. Bunce editor of the Birmingham Post and laid the whole plan before him, telling him that he intended to secure the collection for £7000 and present it to the new Free Public Library. Mr. Bunce, being on the Library Committee & the Committee of the new Art Gallery, persuaded him to save his £7000 for the present & give it in Money to those institutions. The next day Mr. Tangye wrote me that he had decided to decline the Franklin and that he had concluded to give £10,000 in cash to the public Institutions. I immediately removed my reserve to you & agreed to withdraw the Collection from the Auction sale at once in favor of the State Department, as our papers will show. This inner story, which I now tell for the first time, was communicated to me in November by Mr. Bunce himself when I saw him in Birmingham. I was telling him and one or two others of his friends of the Committee how near the Franklin Collection came to going to Birmingham; he said, laughingly, 'Yes, and now that you break my secret I will tell you that it was I who stopped them coming to Birmingham, not that I liked the *Franklin Collection* less, but that I wanted the £10,000 in cash the more.' This was a new revelation to the two other members of the Committee present, when one of them said, 'Oh, well, the Congress has not got the Collection yet, Mr. Tangye has given us his money twice already; he still lives & his coffers are refilling. Who knows but that his love of, & gratitude to Franklin may not yet have another opportunity to manifest itself?' Who knows?"

[51] Dwight to HS, June 27, 1881 (copy), Dwight Papers; HS to Dwight, June 27, 1881, "Papers relating to the Purchase of the Franklin Papers," Record Group 59, National Archives.

> My opinion is that while they do not afford any new facts of great historical importance, they contain the story, in its details, and many, if not most, of the details are unknown to history, of the negotiations conducted almost single handed by Franklin in Europe by which a successful termination of the Revolutionary War was made possible; they show also, the means pursued by Franklin for extorting from England the terms favourable to the United States, of the definitive treaty of peace.
>
> The record books in which the final transcripts of the letters of the Paris Legation were entered at that time, have all the value of similar records or registers in the Department, similar I should say in character but not with respect to that period, for none identical with these exist elsewhere. . . .
>
> I am confirmed by my examination, in my former belief of the great importance of preserving as standards for history, the published as well as the unpublished papers to be found in this collection. . . .
>
> As I have before expressed myself, I still believe that the Government cannot afford to lose them. . . .[52]

By return cable Blaine instructed Lowell to "inform Stevens recommendation will be made to Congress in December for purchase of Franklin Papers."[53]

The Franklin collection was thus once more withdrawn. The remainder of the sale, however, went off as scheduled. It netted £1,709 7*s.*, which was less than Henry Stevens expected and left him still owing Morgan £1,892 18*s.* 2*d.* Nonetheless he felt easier. "Harry and I . . . begin to breathe more freely, having now positively no one to sit upon us," he told Morgan. "Our thanks to you cannot be expressed, but we will from time to time, try & show them."[54]

All Stevens could do now was wait patiently until Congress convened in December, and then wait some more while Blaine's recommendation moved slowly through committee and the appropriation through Congress. Stevens had not that kind of patience. He kept reminding Blaine of his promise, first with a copy of the sale catalogue, then by a letter confirming all their correspondence, finally by a personal note telling that the Stevenses, the Hannibal Hamlins, and Blaine's daughter had enjoyed "a real American Thanksgiving" in London, "though we had to manage without the New England Pumpkin-pie."[55] He implored Bancroft Davis, in whom he had unqualified confidence: "Pray see that every thing goes straight and fair & find your reward in doing, at last, a good service to good Old Ben Franklin, who did in his day more for his country than any other one man."[56]

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[52] Dwight to Blaine, June 28, 1881, "Papers relating to the Purchase of the Franklin Papers," Record Group 59, National Archives.

[53] Blaine to Lowell, June 30, 1881 (cipher telegram), Great Britain, Instructions, XXVI, 179–180, National Archives; to Dwight, July 15, 1881, Dwight Papers; Blaine to HS, July 15, 1881, Copy Book, I, 662.

[54] HS to Morgan, Aug. 6, 1881, Copy Book, I, 500. Since HS had to turn over the proceeds from the sale to Morgan, he was no better off for current expenses, especially as other creditors thought he must be flush. Accordingly he asked Morgan for £500, on the security of the Franklins, to see him through the next six months; when Morgan asked how much he required *now*, he answered £250; and that is what Morgan lent him. "God bless him. We can sail on now for a while & then if cramped I presume he will let us have the other £250." HS to Henry N. Stevens, Aug. 8, 1881, Copy Book, I, 508.

He kept repeating that he regarded Blaine's promise to recommend the purchase as binding on the Congress, as Disraeli bound Parliament to buy the Suez Canal shares, but he was too knowledgeable an American really to believe that anyone, especially a secretary of state, could bind Congress to spend money for historical manuscripts. He could only hope it would go through, but he knew it might fail again. He insisted he would not lobby, but he could not refrain from dropping hints, and he suggested that his brother Simon might speak to Blaine, President Arthur, Senators Windom and Edmunds, if he thought that would help.[57] "I am not over sanguine," he wrote Davis on November 12.[58] "I shall not be very much disappointed if the sale be not completed," he wrote Dwight a few days later, "but if it goes elsewhere, shall have the pleasing satisfaction that my dear & honored Uncle Samuel had offered him a full and satisfactory opportunity."[59] If Uncle Samuel did not want his early records, he hinted, "they are worth something over here."[60]

According to his promise Blaine presented the Franklin affair to the Congress on December 17, recommending in a letter Stevens warmly approved "that immediate action be taken . . . for the appropriation of the amount necessary for the purchase of the collection." With his letter Blaine transmitted a new report by Dwight.

> These papers are more than relics or antiquarian curiosities; they are the

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[55] HS to Blaine, Nov. 24, 1881, Copy Book, I, 693.

[56] HS to Davis, Nov. 12, 1881, Copy Book, I, 663.

[57] HS to Simon Stevens, Nov. 12, 1881, Copy Book, I, 654. Simon lobbied so vigorously that he antagonized some Congressmen, who seem to have regarded the purchase of the collection as a favor to the Stevens family. On the advice of friends in Washington, therefore, HS called him off. HS to Simon Stevens, March 28, April 1, 8, 1882, Copy Book, II, 197, 208, 218.

[58] HS to Davis, Nov. 12, 1881, Copy Book, I, 663.

[59] HS to Dwight, Nov. 24, 1881, Dwight Papers.

[60] HS to Davis, Dec. 3, 1881, Copy Book, I, 708.

> veritable records of our history, and are as worthy of a place among the national archives as those of Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton.
>
> The archives of a nation are, of all its possessions, the most precious and the greatest pride. When they cease to be necessary in the conduct of current affairs, they are treasured and cared for as illustrative of its progress, of its right to existence, for the honor of its founders and sustainers. The honor and importance of the labors of Franklin in establishing in Europe the character of the United States cannot be over-estimated. The story of those labors is only to be found in all its details in this collection; the papers also form a monument to the illustrious co-worker with Washington which I believe the government might properly establish in the place to which it naturally belongs.[61]

Time was running out, as Stevens knew it would; and early in January he extended the government's option two months, to March 1. The Joint Committee on the Library moved slowly, but Stevens was satisfied with the prospect.[62]

The question of price, which had brought negotiations to a halt the preceding year, had to be settled. Bancroft Davis, now assistant secretary of state, asked Lowell to reconsider his judgment. The minister repeated firmly his conviction that the manuscripts had relatively little historical or autographic value and would not therefore bring £5,000; but Lowell conceded they had sentimental value, and added that he considered Congress "entirely justified in paying what the Italians call a price of affection for such papers, even though it were, as I believe the price demanded is, considerably beyond the market value." There could be no question, Lowell went on, that Washington was the "proper place" to deposit and conserve such documents as the Franklins, "and I think that their inevitable dispersion, which would follow on their not being purchased for the Government, is worth preventing even at some overestimate of their saleable value."[63]

Lowell's letter thus removed some objections in the Committee to Stevens' price of £7,000. Meanwhile Dwight organized gentle pressure in behalf of the purchase. Prompted by him, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania adopted a strongly worded resolution that "if the Government shall neglect to take advantage of this opportunity, which is not likely to recur, it will have failed in the performance of a manifest duty." Urged by the Pennsylvanians, the Massachusetts Historical Society also went on record in favor of the purchase; and similar resolutions were adopted by the historical societies of New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Chicago. All forwarded their resolutions to Congress.[64] The *Magazine of American History* editorially echoed the societies' views: "Whose papers are to be secured as *national* property," demanded its editor Henry P. Johnston, "if not Franklin's?"[65]

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[61] 47 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Misc. Doc., No. 21, pp. 1–3.

[62] HS to John Sherman, Jan. 5, Feb. 16, 1882, Copy Book, II, 26, 91.

[63] Davis to Lowell, Jan. 23, 1882, Great Britain, Instructions, XXVI, 324–326; Lowell to Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Feb. 6, 1882, Diplomatic Dispatches, Great Britain, No. 143, National Archives.

Dwight, Judge Davis, and Edward Everett Hale all supported the purchase before the Library Committee. Ainsworth R. Spofford, librarian of Congress, used his influence. "We now have, for the first time, within reach, though not at hand, the history of our negotiations with France, and virtually with the rest of Europe," asserted Hale in a letter to Senator George F. Hoar recapitulating his testimony. Personally, Hale confessed, he would like to see the papers go to the Boston Public Library, several of whose trustees were prepared to buy them, "but of course they ought to be reunited with the papers in the State Department at Washington."[66] Hale's testimony and letter were particularly effective, for they managed subtly to convey both a sense of the value of the papers and the importance of acting swiftly. Frank Stevens later testified that Dwight was "the man that moved Hale to move Hoar and there were only three links in that chain."[67] The committee concluded the price was "not unreasonable," and recommended that an appropriation be made.

"Nervous and fidgetty," Stevens waited in London. No one wrote him anything "amounting to shucks," he complained, "except a lot of rumors" which he knew were false.[68] The favorable committee report cheered him. "It was refreshing news after so long waiting in silence."[69] But the bill moved slowly. Moodily Henry wondered whether it would ever pass. "Had I the business to do over again, I would treat Uncle Sam more like a common individual & close my bargain with him when he was ready to pay his money. If he declines to pass the Grant this session," Stevens continued, "the price will be for next year 5 percent added to £7000 & so on if not sold to any body else. I am awfully nervous about the business but shall lie low till the end of this session."[70] If the government failed to buy, he told Lloyd P. Smith of the Library Company of Philadelphia, he would like to see the collection go to Philadelphia; but Boston had claims as Franklin's birthplace; and he could always sell it in England. He would offer it on the principle of first come, first served, "only adding the good old rule of the Sybil, 'to raise the price every time refused.' "[71] "Patriotism," he continued fiercely, "is out of the question in bartering with Uncle Samuel."[72]

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[64] F. D. Stone to Dwight, Feb. 14, 1882, Dwight Papers; Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, XIX (1881–1882), 239–241; *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., XIII (1882), 1,368, 1,464, 1,470, 2,547; New Jersey Historical Society, Resolutions, Feb. 17, 1882, Dwight Papers.

[65] "The Franklin, Rochambeau, and Force Papers," *Magazine of American History*, VIII (1882), 346–350. See also, "The Lost Papers of Benjamin Franklin," *Penn Monthly*, XIII (1882), 333–351.

[66] 47 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Rep., No. 504.

[67] BFS to Dwight, Jan. 13, 1883, Dwight Papers. For Hale's colorful account of his testimony, see Edward E. Hale, Jr., *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale* (Boston, 1917), II, 259–261. Hoar's account is in his *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (New York, 1903), II, 98–99.

[68] HS to Davis, Feb. 16, 1882, Copy Book, II, 105.

So matters "drizzled along"—Stevens' phrase—during June and July. When he heard that the appropriation was actually in the bill, he took heart again and began to plan for Davis or Spofford to "come over and receive the goods in London." Spofford, if he came, would be "the big foreign lion" at the British Library Association meeting that fall, and Stevens' "house, with bed, knife & fork," was at his service.[73]

The bill passed on August 7. Stevens threw himself into the task of putting the papers "all into apple-pie order." Not satisfied with the appearance of the collection, he sent some of the books and papers to be bound, though he was under no obligation to do so and the costs came from his own pocket. He even postponed a family vacation because he had to get his "Franklin Elephant" off his shoulders.[74]

The arranging of the collection revealed that several books—worth £5 or £6 in the aggregate—were missing, though "all the rare ones"

[69] HS to Simon Stevens, April 18, 1882, Copy Book, II, 238.

[70] HS to Simon Stevens, April 22, 1882, Copy Book, II, 245.

[71] HS to Smith, May 13, 1882, Copy Book, II, 309.

[72] HS to Edward E. Hale, May 2, 1882, Copy Book, II, 262.

[73] HS to A. R. Spofford, July 13, 1882, Copy Book, II, 408. At the Library Association meeting HS read his essay, "Who Spoils Our New English Books," separately printed in 1884.

[74] HS to Davis, Aug. 9, Sept. 26, 1882; to DeCoverly, Sept. 28, 1882, Copy Book, II, 434, 488, 494.

were accounted for.[75] A few of the missing titles Stevens was able to replace from the stock of his fellow booksellers, whom he cheerfully offered to repay "in kind & kindness, what the Yankees call 'truck & dicker.' " Two items he bought back from Morgan, to whom he had just sold them. The rest it was agreed should be made up from books of equivalent value selected by the Librarian of Congress.[76]

So busy was Stevens during these weeks that he almost forgot that no one had informed him when or how the Franklin papers were to be turned over to the government. In October he notified the Secretary of State that he awaited instructions, and the Secretary responded at once by naming two members of the London legation staff to receive the collection.[77] One of these two, E. S. Nadal, second secretary, began checking off the collection on December 8. He found it, he wrote on completing his work two weeks later, "in a very satisfactory state. . . . I have been strongly impressed with Mr. Stevens' wish to deal fairly by the Government and to make the collection all and more than he claimed it to be."[78] The details of the transfer were arranged among Stevens, whose property the collection was; the British Museum, which had temporary custody of it; Morgan, to whom it was pledged as security for his loan to Stevens and whose release was required to move it; and Lowell, who would give Morgan the government's draft for £7,000. Stevens was anxious to speed the transaction to save further interest and insurance charges.[79] The actual transfer was made at the Museum at 12 o'clock noon, January 3, 1883; and that afternoon the papers were packed into tin-lined cases, soldered up and screwed down, and placed in the hands of the United States Despatch Agent for shipment to New York.[80]

The papers had survived Temple Franklin's carelessness, mutilation in the tailor's shop, and the indifference of American ministers and

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[75] HS to Davis, Aug. 12, 1882, Copy Book, II, 436. One of the missing items was a first edition of Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*; it was valued at 10*s.* 6*d.*

[76] HS to Spofford, Sept. 14, 26, 1882; to [Timmens], Oct. 10, 1882; to Morgan, Nov. 27, 1882, Copy Book, II, 477, 487, 505, 583.

[77] HS to Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Oct. 3, 1882, Copy Book, II, 501; Frelinghuysen to William J. Hoppin, Oct. 13, 1882, Great Britain, Instructions, XXVI, 529–533, National Archives.

[78] Nadal's report was enclosed in Lowell to Frelinghuysen, Jan. 6, 1883, "Papers relating to the Purchase of the Franklin Papers," Record Group 59, National Archives.

[79] HS to Morgan, Dec. 9, 1882, Copy Book, II, 608.

[80] HS to Lowell, Dec. 30, 1882; to Frelinghuysen, Jan. 6, 1883, Copy Book, II, 637, 643.

British officials. They had been in and out of bank vaults, and for thirty years, though known to exist, had been seen by only a handful of people. They were the property of a chronically indebted bibliophile who had determined that his Uncle Samuel should have them and steadfastly rejected every suggestion to break them up. In an almost melodramatic last moment, when they were to be offered on the block to the highest bidder, scattered or sold abroad, a rich man paid the mortgage and saved them for Uncle Samuel. Twice Samuel spurned them, but now they were his at last. They had been through enough, one thinks; they had yet to risk destruction by fire.

The manuscripts were shipped in several parcels by different vessels. The second lot came on the *City of Chester*, which discharged its cargo, including several boxes of Franklin papers, at the Inman Line pier in the North River. At 2 o'clock on the morning of February 1 the pier caught fire and in a spectacular blaze burned to the water, with the loss of half a million dollars' worth of cargo.[81] Less than twelve hours before, however, the Despatch Agent at New York had claimed and removed the Franklins.[82]

The first boxes of the first shipment reached Washington on January 30, and Dwight began unpacking them that afternoon. They were, he wrote in the *Magazine of American History*, "the most valuable acquisition [by the United States archives] since 1849"; and the "gem" of the collection was the Petition to the King.[83] As for Henry Stevens, "Having got off my Franklin Collection & got Uncle Samuel's cheque for the same," he wrote an American customer, "I am a little more free to land the fine & big nuggets."[84]

## APPENDIX

[*Some of the more important letters referred to, and even quoted, in this paper are here presented in full or in abstract. Not all of Henry Stevens' correspondence about the sale of his Franklin collection is given here, of course—*

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[81] *N. Y. Herald*, Feb. 1, 1883, p. 7; Feb. 2, p. 6.

[82] Haughwout Howe to Senellon A. Brown, Feb. 1, 1883, "Papers relating to the Purchase of the Franklin Papers," Record Group 59, National Archives.

[83] Dwight, "Lost and Found Manuscripts of Benjamin Franklin," *Magazine of American History*, IX (1883), 428–439. See also *ibid.*, 377. The papers were later transferred to the Library of Congress, where they now are. They were calendared by Worthington C. Ford, *List of the Benjamin Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1905).

[84] HS to W. M. Darlington, Feb. 3, 1883, Copy Book, II, 691.

*the principal lack is the letters addressed to him. But this selection documents the story, evokes some of the flavor of the Green Mountain Boy, and throws fitful glances on the trade in American books and manuscripts in London seventy-five years ago.*

*The text of the paper provides whatever annotation the letters require.*

*I am indebted to Mr. Henry Stevens of London and to Mr. Roland A. L. Tree of New York for permission to print here letters of HS.*—W. J. B., Jr.]

### BENJAMIN F. STEVENS TO THEODORE F. DWIGHT

[Dwight Papers, MHS] London, November 2, 1878

Dear Sir, May I not assume that as Librarian of the Department of State you are familiar with all its books, manuscripts, and how you came by them, lawfully, financially, literatureally &c. &c.

I want to know something about your manuscripts:

Washington
Jefferson
Madison
Monroe
Hamilton

Have you not got these?
Are they not all printed?
How many printed vols. of each?

What did Uncle Samuel pay for each lot of papers?

Were the papers edited under the direction of the Department or were they edited before the Government bought them?

What did Uncle Samuel pay for editing the papers?

Did the Government print the papers or did the Publishers take the cost of manufacturing the books upon themselves?

How many copies of Each Author did the Government purchase for its own use and for distribution?

Were the books all distributed by Members of Congress in the old fashioned way to their Constituents, Libraries &c. and in some cases quietly sold to the Washington booksellers who kept the books in stock at moderate prices?

Did the Government buy other papers than those I have mentioned?

The Adams papers I believe are in the possession of the Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

The Jay papers were at one time in the hands of the Jay family—where are they now?

The Morris papers—what has become of them?

The value of these great store houses of historical information is beyond computation and as our people are going more and more thoroughly into a careful historical survey I am curious to know what material is lying under their very noses and as yet only half appreciated.

I want all these papers when I know what constitutes a complete set and the price at which they can be bought.

I am aware that many of the letters are printed in the American State Papers, the American Archives, and in the Diplomatic Correspondence.

I have not got one of the books before me and if I should go to the Museum and get them all together I should not get answers to most of my queries.

Can you tell me off hand if in the Washington, Jefferson &c. the letters that are included in the Archives, State Papers & Diplomatic Correspondence are included (as they ought to be) in the works of Washington &c. &c. respectively, so that each set of papers is complete in itself, or must one go through the whole series of publications to gather together all the letters & papers of Hamilton and others respectively?

Has the Government taken a lot of copies of the Adams Memoirs recently published by C.F.A. and if so at what price? Number of copies &c. Will the papers be published?

Some 30 years ago Bancroft when Minister here got wind of some Franklin papers. He had some correspondence with the Department on the subject. Did he make a report upon these papers? Did he receive instructions to examine or purchase?

There is a tradition that Van Buren examined the Franklin papers but this is hardly likely to have been the case while he was here as *Minister* in 1832 as Sparks was here about that time 32 & 33 making every effort to get Franklin materials for his great 10 vol. Book. Sparks used every thing that could be found anywhere up to 1836 or later hence the Bancroft period would seem to be the earliest date at which discoveries or enquiries could have been made to the Department.

Is it convenient to tell me if any correspondence has been had with the Department with any one concerning the Franklin Manuscripts which are and which are not used in Sparks 10 vols; and what is the gist of that correspondence, if any?

You will see from these Enquiries that I have an Enquiring turn of mind and you will probably say that the Shorter Catechism puts fewer and easier questions. I dont expect so explicit answers as the Shorter Catechism gives—I shall be content with general answers & somewhat superficial information in the first instance but I am very much afraid that my desire for fuller particulars afterwards may assume great proportions.

I dont know who to trouble with these questions and similar ones. I shall esteem it a great favour if you can kindly assist me by providing a substitute if you can not conveniently give me the time for answering my queries.

I shall be happy to send you books &c. to amply compensate you for any trouble you may be able to take in my behalf.

I have in my possession *in trust, and in confidence*, a very great mass of Franklin papers. With them are many letters of contemporaneous Statesmen American, French, English, Spanish, Dutch &c. &c.

My time is so fully occupied I can at present go over the papers only superficially but I shall endeavour to go into them most thoroughly.

Who has had any thing to do with them heretofore?

Have they been examined and reported upon?

Can they be secured for our Government?

What course has our Government pursued heretofore with other valuable historical papers? These and many more similar questions are thronging through my mind but I have already asked too many.

The circumstance of these papers being in my possession is if you please to remain quiet as it is earnestly desired that nothing concerning them or their value shall be published.

I have recently had occasion to see some wonderfully interesting and important manuscripts.

Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey have not begun to exhaust the very important historical documents lying here in Government Offices, Libraries &c.

Volumes and volumes could be made. Life is short. This letter is long. I hope I have not bored you. Bigmore says you will take my quieries kindly and hence my troubling you with them—rough and not digested.

Whenever I can do any thing in London for you it will always be a pleasure to receive your commands. Yours faithfully.

### BENJAMIN F. STEVENS TO HENRY STEVENS (Copy)

[HS Copy Book, I, 89] London, December 22, 1880

DEAR HENRY, I've got the notion that a Sausage skin is not so full of crumbs & meat as you are filled with misapprehensions & Errors concerning me & my motives.

I have no thought or suspicion in my own mind that I have done any unbrotherly, ungenerous or wrongful act, thought, or thing towards you. If you think I have in any respect failed to live fully up to this standard I pray you will do me the favour to tell me plainly the grounds of your complaint, that I may mend or if we differ that we may leave the difference to some friend by whose decision I shall cheerfully abide.

I have never attempted to make a penny for my self out of your securities and I have no desire to begin now to plot, prejudice or clandestinely deal with your securities and I do not want to buy for my self any of the securities with a view to making a profit for myself but I do want to continue to do every thing in my power to your best interests and to your best profit. You know and I know pretty well to what extent my services have been useful to you since December 1861 and it will not be difficult to decide if they are likely to be as profitably directed for you hereafter as before.

With reference to the Franklin I have with your knowledge for years worked, written & talked with friends in the Government Offices about this collection and the best way to put the matter for a profitable sale. I have obtained considerable information and the promise of most valuable (I think) influence towards the ordering of the entire collection by the Government and I have this week very strong reason to believe that if the Franklins are put up at auction and subjected to the consequent exposure the Government wont bid nor authorize a single shilling for the whole lot. On the other hand I believe I can combine the influences, if allowed to do so quickly, and get an order for the whole lot—*Manuscripts, Printed Books and the Books you have personally* at a good price. If this is to be attempted I think it should be done quickly so as not to delay the sale catalogue if the attempt is not successful; and because the preparations incident to the Change of Administration will prevent some of my friends exercising so active an influence in two or three weeks as they can do at once.

I have during all these two or three years avoided mentioning figures as measuring the historic value & importance of the collection but when too hard pressed I have talked of £7000 in much the same way as you at one time talked of £8000.

If you want me to try to sell the entire collection to the American Government and will place all your interest in my hands I will ask the Whittinghams to do the same. I will utilize every influence and argument you may give me in conjunction with whatever I can command and I will begin at £7000 and reluctantly yielding if and as may be necessary will fall to any limit you may indicate subject to the W's approval or to the limit of £2000 to which I should if they were my own sell out. I have so much hope of being able to get £4000 or more I should struggle very hard when getting down to or below £6000 in the hope of drawing a £5000 offer but of course this is the merest speculation as to details. With the shadow of an absolutely definite date of sale by auction and the chance of the collection not eventually going to America I believe I can get a much better offer than if there was no such pressure and especially as a sale in London in the middle of February can not give delivery in Washington before 4th of March.

For any services rendered and to be rendered with all influences at my command I should charge no commission, as such, whatever but I should take compensation in closing out my pecuniary affairs with you by recouping myself for money already spent for or in conjunction with you—somewhat as follows—

> I will endeavour to settle the Whittinghams Claim for *about.*
> Sotheby's Withdrawal charges on the Franklins.
> Your *fair* portion of Storrs charges re Securities.
> Hercules & Court Books, Stock, Paper, Subscriptions, disbursements &c *now* standing *about* but with some further costs before completing books to be added if paid by me or to be paid by you.

I should turn over to you every penny of the surplus money, if any, with all of the other securities at Sotheby's belonging to the Whittinghams and me and all the securities here & Humboldt, Hercules, Court Book Stock, Paper, Subscriptions &c. or fairly closing out and closing up all of our money matters.

Do you want to be brotherly? I am yours Affectionately.

Postscript. If I sell the Franklin collection entire together with the Copyright and Plates of Sparks 10 Vols. their value (the copyright & Plates) shall be reckoned equitably in our Settlement. I say you have no property whatever in this copyright or in the Plates and I hear you have said you have. If in the Settlement of account for proceeds in case of the Sale of this property with your Franklin Collection it is found that you and I continue to differ about the Plates and Copyright I will undertake to abide by the decision of some friend to whom we shall mutually refer such difference with any & all other differences.

I venture the point as a matter for your consideration that the surplus money, if any, should go to Sime [brother Simon Stevens] to reduce your debt to him as you will have all the books, stock &c released for your own personal use but of course this hint is not put forward by me as being any condition upon my willingness to take active steps in immediately opening up negotiations for privately selling your entire interest in the Franklin Books, Papers, &c. &c., if you request me to do so. Yours.

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### HENRY STEVENS TO BENJAMIN F. STEVENS

[HS Copy Book, I, 23] London, December 24, 1880

Dear Frank, The Result arrived at by our recent interview in which Mr. Starr & Harry have taken part, is—that we agree that you should telegraph to Washington to offer to the State Department *the whole of the Franklin Collection* (which we know as Henry Stevens's Collection) to include Books, Manuscripts, Newspapers, Pamphlets, Copies, the Sparks Copyright & stereo plates, & all such property as is now at Sotheby's or at my office or private house, or otherwise in my possession, saving only such Franklins as I may have bought or been in treaty for buying during the current month. The lowest sum to be accepted from Washington to be five thousand five hundred pounds.

This is without prejudice to the question of ownership of Copyrights & plates which it is mutually understood shall not in any case be valued between us or by our arbitrators above £200—two hundred pounds.

Thanking you for your offer of services in the matter which I trust may be successful I am Dear Frank Yours truly and affectionately.

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### HENRY STEVENS TO BENJAMIN F. STEVENS

[December 31, 1880. Many years ago he had promised former President Van Buren, when the latter was in London, that when he was ready to dispose of the Franklin Collection, he would give the State Department the first refusal. Van Buren had spent two whole days at Morley's Hotel going through the collection with Stevens. He declared that the United States had bought the papers of Washington and other statesmen, but needed Franklin's to complete the record; and he named $40,000 as a fair price and advised Stevens to accept no less. Stevens had constantly improved the collection by adding to it and lavishing editorial labor on it, "always hoping to overtake myself and find time to write a new Life of Franklin out of my abundant materials and to re-edit his Works." To this end in 1864 he bought the copyright and plates of Sparks's *Works.*

Now he had decided to sell; and hereby authorized B. F. Stevens to offer the collection to the State Department during the present administration, at £7000. It was understood the collection comprised the entire body of manuscripts purchased in 1851, "together with all books and manuscripts added since, including Franklin's Poor Richard's & Pocket Almanacs, Pennsylvania Gazettes, rare books written or printed by Franklin; indeed every thing of every description that I have accumulated in reference to Franklin, without any reserve, together with Sparks's Copyright & stereotype plates." (Then follows a long account of the publication of Franklin's papers and of this collection in particular, essentially as later printed in the catalogue of Stevens' sale at Sotheby's.) HS Copy Book, I, 34]

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### BENJAMIN F. STEVENS TO SECRETARY OF STATE EVARTS

[46th Congr., 3d sess., Sen. Exec. Doc., No. 25]

London, January 1, 1881

Sir: I am authorized and I desire to sell Henry Stevens's Franklin collection of manuscripts, books, &c., together with the Sparks copyright and stereotype plates, to the Department of State.

I have the honor to inclose herewith a detailed list of the manuscripts, which is for the most part chronological, except those on the last two or three pages, which have not yet been arranged in their proper order. Want of time has also prevented the proper arrangement of the titles of the books, and writing them out in the ordinary style as a list. I am so desirous of getting this matter off by to-night's mail I pray you will receive the information in the form in which it is submitted.

I also inclose a very long but hurried letter with reference to this collection, which has been addressed to me by Mr. Henry Stevens.

Mr. E. C. Bigmore, my managing clerk, has had great experience with historical manuscripts, books, &c. He has been with me fifteen years, and is now in Washington. He has worked some months on this collection, and it is presumed he will be able, from his personal knowledge, to give such further information, if any, as you may require, and I respectfully request you will recognize Mr. Bigmore as my representative in this matter.

I have been unable to take a copy of Mr. Henry Stevens's letter to me, and of the lists of manuscripts and books, for transmission to Mr. Bigmore, and I therefore venture to make the further request that you will kindly permit him to peruse these inclosures, and, if he desires it, to make extracts or a copy.

The manuscripts, for the most part, are in good condition, have been carefully collated, arranged in chronological order, catalogued, copied by type-writer, and compared with the type-written copy, Sparks, and Diplomatic Correspondence, by experienced proof-readers, and the alterations and corrections duly marked as working-material ready for the future editor. This work has mostly been done by me, or under my personal supervision. I have made a careful estimate of the quantity of matter that the manuscripts in this collection will produce if all printed, and taking the printed page of Sparks as the unit, I find that the portion printed in Sparks is about 1,195 pages, and those printed in the Diplomatic Correspondence and not in Sparks, will make about 246 pages, and the portion not printed at all will make about 2,430 pages. There are about 300 pages printed in both Sparks and Diplomatic Correspondence, but I have not so carefully estimated this assumed 300 pages. As already intimated the proof-reading shows that considerable and sometimes very important alterations were made in the papers printed in Sparks and in the Diplomatic Correspondence.

In making this estimate of quantity, I have of course reckoned the matter as if it existed in all cases in only one state, while in reality the list shows that many papers exist in several states, and I venture the hint that a very moderate valuation of the manuscripts alone would be to reckon the 2,430 pages not printed at £2 a page, and the 246 pages and 1,195 pages which are printed at £1 a page, making together on this basis a valuation of £6,301.

The catalogue of manuscripts comprises about 2,938 separate entries counting each document or paper as one only, although it may, as already indicated, exist in several states; of these 2,938 items I find about 425 are printed in Sparks only, 105 in Diplomatic Correspondence only, 98 in both Sparks and Diplomatic Correspondence, and about 2,310 are not printed.

The philosophical papers, essays, &c., were mostly edited and printed before Franklin's death, and are reprinted in Sparks; hence the matter not printed is very nearly all in the London and Paris peace negotiations, correspondence and documents of the greatest historical interest.

Washington's Farewell Address was sold by auction and bought by Mr. Lennox, of New York, for $2,500. I mention this document as being the nearest to the "petition to the king" in historical importance that has been sold, and it is assumed that this petition with its signatures is of greater value than the farewell address. The two little books "Articles of Belief" and the printed books, pamphlets, &c., I leave to Mr. Bigmore to discuss and value in detail with you.

In the list of manuscripts I have endeavoured to indicate the state in which each paper exists as "draft," "tscpt." meaning transcript; "R", meaning the numbered letter books with the page; "orig." for original; and in the columns where figures are used without any letters these figures are the number of words in the respective documents and so give the length of these several papers. Many papers were not counted for the list, but have been carefully estimated by reckoning the number of lines on every page of the type-written or printed copy; "P. copy" means press copy; "D.C." means the volume of Diplomatic

Correspondence and the page on which the documents are printed; the Roman numerals refer to Sparks, and the figures to the pages in Sparks. I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[HS Copy Book, I, 62] January 6, 1881

My dear Judge, In the course of human events the time has come in which it is probably in your power without much trouble to render me an important service, and at the same time, I trust, to afford yourself the satisfaction of performing an unusually good action, both to me your ancient colleague, and to Samuel, our respected Uncle & patron. Such opportunities, to a benevolent mind, seldom occur & therefore I commend this to you with little apology & with considerable confidence, both founded on the days of "auld lang syne," when we went gipsying, long time ago, with Pauli, Tom Taylor, Dick Doyle and others, in Piccadilly and the Temple by the Thames.

You will remember my "Franklin Collection." You and the late Ex-President Van Buren are the only men who ever looked it through with any sort of care. I have had it Thirty years & have added since you saw it, to the extent of upwards of £1000 actual cost to me. I have held on to it hoping to clear myself, make a pile, and then write a new life of Franklin & re-edit his Works in say 12 large octavo volumes like Sparks but in smaller & closer type. This elephant has been a life long pet companion, & I have well nigh spent my substance in nursing him and collecting facts, incidents and inferences respecting Franklin.

But now in 1881 I am reluctantly compelled to consent to offer the Collection through my brother B. F. Stevens to the State Department for £7000 in order to clear off a balance of about £2750 including interest and expenses to Febry. 1881, due to the estate of the late Charles Whittingham, Printer, of the Chiswick Press. My brother B. F. Stevens married one of the Daughters and is one of the Executors. While the great bulk of the Collection was deposited with the proprietor of the Chiswick Press & his Executors, they, under the inspection of my brother, have for some reason or other unknown to me copied all the unpublished papers, compared the previously printed ones with the MSS. estimated their quantity and catalogued the whole, for which they charge me £300 included in the above £2750. This though mere clerk or machine work considerably enhances it's value & renders the collection much more presentable for the future editor. I have also bought Sparks's Copyright and the Stereotype plates, in order that in my new life and new edition there might be no impediment to a thorough overhauling of materials and proper arrangement. I have stipulated that all these shall go together in my offer to the State Department, every thing I have accumulated relative to Franklin, except my 30 years study into the biography of Franklin & history of his times. My historical and editorial studies are at the call of the Department, but not having been carefully written out are not included in the £7000.

I have been advised and persuaded to make this offer now through my brother B. F. Stevens, but only for the State Department and for immediate decision during the present administration. If the sale be not effected by the 4th of March the collection, I am told, must come to auction to be sold in one lot, No. 1245, or thereabouts, of a sale at Sotheby's, the Catalogue now preparing by me, of which I send you the first two sheets just ready. From No. 1 of this Catalogue to No. 1245 are the securities pledged to the Whittinghams for this small balance [of] £2750 about. I expect the books alone to bring £3000 —more than enough to clear off the debt, yet I am called an enthusiast and one who over values his own, and am constrained & advised to offer my pet collection first, for the low sum of £7000 or £1000 less than Mr. Van Buren valued it; and as you know, less, I think, than was paid for Washington's, Madison's, Monroe's, Jefferson's and other papers. In order that the seller and buyer may know pretty definately what they are talking about, I have drawn up a hasty but long letter addressed to my brother giving a tolerably full account of the Collection and its hitherto unappreciated value. It is impossible in view of the chances & escapes it has been subjected to, to over-value the historical, political and literary interest of the unpublished Manuscripts. I send you herewith a careful copy of this long letter to my brother, the original of which he sent to Mr. Evarts by the last Mail of Jan. 1st. 1881. You will please consider this long letter as private & confidential for I am not sure it is *regular* for me even to send out a duplicate letter of this sort to anyone when I know that the original has been sent to the State Department. But you will of course understand & appreciate any courtesies of this sort. I have no objection whatever to your showing it & this letter to Mr. Evarts. Pray act in your own discretion. My brother was going to write to you in reference to this matter & may do so still but I told him that I would do it.

I desire that you should know the whole story and that as you have seen and examined the papers you may be able to speak with Mr. Evarts if necessary, or any one else with confidence. My brother has placed the negotiation in the hands of his chief clerk Mr. Bigmore, who will probably call on you. You may tell him as much or as little as you like. If you can directly or indirectly do anything, or give any information, so as to promote the sale, I shall take it as a great favour. I need the money, and when I have paid off this balance of £2750, the rest is to come to me in cash, which will be a harvest in time, especially when I include the proceeds of the rest of the sale, and another preparing, which [*several words illegible*] I hope a clear £10,000 [*several words illegible*]. You will appreciate my loss in parting with "*Henry Stevens's Franklin Collection*" without editing it & publishing the Works, after so many years and so many sacrifices. My life long dream!

Perhaps however I may yet write the life of Franklin & be permitted or be employed to edit his works. With my knowledge so far acquired & with the Public Record Office and the British Museum at elbow, I feel confident I have resources buried which no one else will ever command.

Pray give my kindest regards to your good wife, and delicately remind her how much she owes to him who nurtured & protected you so long at Morleys in this wicked London. Yours ever truly and honestly.

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HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS ("Private & Confidential")

[HS Copy Book, I, 68] London, January 6, 1881

My dear Davis, I have just written you a long letter enclosing a longer one to my brother for Mr. Evarts, respecting the sale of my "Franklin Collection" to the State Department.

What I wish you *privately* to know is that for some unexplained reason I am *forced* to sell this Franklin Collection now to pay a small loan on it & a large lot of rare books. The books *ought* to pay the debt, & then I would have my Collection free to edit & work upon at pleasure. But my *advisers* will have the Franklin sold first if possible. I have no objection to this provided it can be arranged that I can utilize my studies of a life time & write out the Life of Franklin & Edit his Works. Can, therefore, the entire Collection be sold, subject to my editing it? There are copies of the whole from which I can work & the originals may be delivered without delay & the originals be safe in Washington while I am printing the work at the Riverside Press in Cambridge. £7000 is cheap enough but if I can carry out my scheme of life, I might take less, & the half or 2/3 of the MSS. & copies need not be paid for until the whole be in the State Department. Can you bring about some such trade? My brother had some notion of printing the 12 volumes at the Chiswick Press & then offering the Work cheaply to the Congress or State Dept. But the Chiswick Press has been sold and I presume this scheme has been abandoned. But nevertheless the Whittinghams under the directions of my brother have gone on, against my interests & knowledge, copying the MSS & preparing them for the press, & have now rendered me an account of £300 for this unauthorized work, or they are willing to keep it. This of course will not do, so I am saddled with these copies, collations & catalogues, all good & useful, but rendering my debt still larger. They have a large collection of books which I proposed to sell, but they insist on my disposing of the MSS first. I have no doubt there is a nigger in that wood pile, but I cannot yet see him. The collection is still absolutely mine & I can readily pay off the balance of £2750 out of my books in this sale, of which (5 days) I send you two sheets today & will send the others as they come out. If this is not enough I am preparing another sale of 5 days worth £2000 or £3000 more, so that at any rate, I do not mean to let the Franklin Collection come to auction for I will sell out any thing else I have. I am committed however to the offer to the State Department. My fear however is that Mr. Bigmore will endeavor to obtain for my brother, or for some one else the printing or editing of the Collection. It is all a mystery. Pray look into it and defeat any such scheme. I am not willing to be associated in this matter with any other person, not even my brother. I want H. O. Houghton of the Riverside Press to print the Work, & therefore have written him in confidence & have given him a letter to you. If he thinks it worth while he will communicate with you. Pray speak freely with him if he turns up. I am willing to sell out to the State Dept. for the £7000 & clean up the matter, but still would prefer to have the editing of the new life & works.

Do not communicate any thing of this to Bigmore, who certainly is not in my interests. Yours ever truly & hastily.

Address your letters to me not to my office or through the bag, but to me at my house: 13 Upper Avenue Road, South Hampstead, N.W., London.

### HENRY STEVENS TO HENRY O. HOUGHTON ("Private & Confidential")

[Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, London][85] January 6, 1881

My dear Sir, For many years I have been dreaming of sometime treating with you for the printing and publishing of my *Life of Franklin* and an edition of his Works. I am now however advised and constrained to offer my whole "Franklin Collection" to the State Department at Washington. Still, sold or not, I hope you & I may yet see some good in the collection. With this view, I include in this long letter a transcript of a letter I have written to my Brother B. F. Stevens, sent by him Jan. 1st to Mr. Evarts, which letter will I trust explain itself & form part of this to you. I trust it will give you some proper idea of the extent and value of my "Franklin Collection."

### SECRETARY OF STATE EVARTS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

[January 18, 1881. He has received a communication "of the first interest" from B. F. Stevens, stating that he was authorized to sell to the Department of State the Henry Stevens Franklin Collection of manuscripts and books. The letter was accompanied by detailed lists of the contents and a descriptive letter from Henry Stevens, giving an account of the collection's history. The collection must be sold at auction in London on February 15 unless the offer to the United States government should be accepted. Evarts earnestly requests "the immediate attention of Congress to the opportunity thus offered to acquire these invaluable papers," to be deposited among the archives of the Department of State. 46th Cong., 3d sess., Sen. Exec. Doc., No. 25]

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[85] This letter to Houghton and that of February 12 are reproduced from transcripts made under the direction of Mr. Henry Stevens from the press copies in his office in London.

### HENRY STEVENS TO BENJAMIN F. STEVENS

[January 20, 1881. Has received the statement of the account of the executors of the late Charles Whittingham against him, amounting to £2871 12*s.* 6*d.* in full to Jan. 13, 1881, which he accepts and will pay, as agreed, either from the sale of his Franklin Collection to the State Department or by the sale of the securities (books) at Sotheby's, as originally planned; except that the date of the sale at Sotheby's is to be extended to a date not earlier than the middle of April. Agrees to pay half Mr. Storr's charges, not exceeding 50 guineas, for settling Whittingham's account with him. HS Copy Book, I, 104]

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### EDWARD C. BIGMORE TO THEODORE F. DWIGHT

[Dwight Papers, MHS] Washington, D. C., February 1, 1881

Dear Sir, In estimating the price which it would be proper to ask the Government for the Franklin Collection we went upon the basis, which I venture to repeat to you, in the hope that the facts may have some influence in inducing the Library Committee to reconsider its idea of the value of the Collection.

That portion of the Manuscripts which has not been printed has been very carefully cast and found that it would, if put into type, make 2430 pages of the size and type of Sparks. The writers who contribute to popular Magazines such as *Harper's* are paid at the rate of $10 a page —if we take the unpublished Franklin papers as of this literary value leaving aside their great autographic and historic importance and value we have a total of $24,300.

The published papers make 1440 pages and having regard to the many errors and omissions of editorship may be valued at $5 a page or $7,200.

The Petition to the King, of considerably more historical importance than Washington's Farewell Address, the original of which was sold in London and bought by Mr. James Lenox, may be estimated as worth as at least as much: £500.

The editorial work that has occupied some two years or more; making two copies of every paper and carefully reading them with the originals and where printed with the printed copies; the careful catalogue of the Manuscripts; and the many rare and valuable books printed by or relating to Franklin, may be cheaply estimated as worth £1000.

These figures make a total of about $39,000 and it was finally decided to offer the whole Collection to the Government for £7000.

I shall be happy to give you any further information that may be in my power. Yours faithfully.

*Recapitulation:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Unpublished Manuscripts | $24,300 |
| Published ditto | 7,200 |
| Petition to the King | 2,500 |
| Editorial labour, Catalogue, Printed Books &c. &c. | 5,000 |
| | $39,000 |

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[HS Copy Book, I, 131] February 3, 1881

My dear Judge, I wrote you a month ago pretty fully in reference to the sale of my Franklin Collection to the State Department. I now write to say that having been forced into this negotiation & sale by the executors of the late Charles Whittingham my good old friend, in order that they might realize a balance of £2871 12. 6. I have been making the catalogue of the securities they hold in order that they may be sold by auction, on the 25th of April & 4 following days. The catalogue now being nearly completed, I find that there is enough in the other books and Manuscripts to cover my liabilities to the Whittinghams independent of my Franklin Collection of Books & Manuscripts. Besides this I am preparing another sale, or two sales, that will probably produce some £4000, or £5000 more. Under these circumstances I find I can clear my neck from this yoke without parting with my *Franklins.* Still until I pay the balance & get shunt of my liability I am forced to foreclose on or before the 25th–30th April, either by the sale of the books or the Franklin Collection. I dont want to sell the Franklin Collection if I can swing the matter without. My brother who is one of the Whittingham executors, having married the eldest daughter, is fully under the impression that I *must* sell the Franklins in order to realize the necessary amount. He has in fact no idea of the amount of the other securities in their hands & it has been agreed that the Franklins shall be the last lot in the sale. Ergo, as there is abundance to produce the Amount I shall withdraw from Auction the Franklin Collection, though it will stand in the catalogue as for sale, "unless disposed of previously." Under all circumstances I have allowed my brother to offer the Collection to the State Department for £7000 during the present Administration. I now hear that Mr. Evarts not being able to buy it out of any available fund in hand has strongly represented the matter to the Congress for purchase at the £7000 or less. The Committee we are informed by telegram have consented to put it into the Bill at $20,000 & I am asked to say *yes* or *no*. My brother referred the question to me & I replied *No* very strongly and he telegraphed that the "absolute minimum" price was $35,000 for the entire Collection of every scrap I own about Franklin.

Now I write this to you, for auld lang syne, that you may know exactly how the matter stands. You and Expresident Van Buren are the only persons who saw the collection with any care. Since your days at Morleys I have spent more than £1000 in cash upon the Collection, and now, that I feel I am not compelled to sacrifice it to pay this sum of £2871 12. 6. I am fully resolved not to accept one penny less than $35,000 and if I could decently withdraw that offer I would. But the offer stands in writing & I must abide by it till 12 o'clock March 4, 1881. I may be foolish, but no one knows the great historical value of the collection so well as myself. My wife & Son urge me to sell & put away something for old age and posterity.

I therefore pray you, as an old friend, to represent to the Committee, or to Mr. Evarts or to any one else you think best, the true state of the case. They can have "The Stevens Franklin Collection" entire for $35,000 (£7000) and not one penny less. This offer holds good till the 4th of March next. It is a great deal of money, but there is a great deal of Uncle Sams history and glory in it. The British Govt. has been for years collecting the materials of its history from all parts of the world & I suppose Uncle Sam will do the same when he can't. You have seen the papers. Lowell is now looking them through, I know not how laboriously, but I have no fear whatever that, with the sharpness of Hosea Bigelow, he will come, or can come to any other conclusion than that Uncle Samuel out [ought] to secure the Collection while he may. It may be, and probably is his last chance.

My ambition has been thru 30 years to edit these papers & write a new life of Franklin. The whole will comprise about 12 volumes size of Sparks, but in closer type. When this pinch is over, & I [survive?] with my Franklin Collection safe & not mortgaged, I intend to arrange with some Murray or Longman to go into the Matter with me & have a duplicate set of stereoplates, one for Europe & the other for America. This I trust, will give me "work & play" and a good deal more than £7000, besides having the "Collection" still on hand for the British Museum or State Department. The *Papers* are as much *British History* as *American History*. I dont wish to throw cold water on the purchase by Congress. Pray see Bigmore & consult & advise with him to effect the sale for $35,000. If this fails Uncle Sam loses the Collection. Yours ever truly as of old.

### HENRY STEVENS TO AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD

[February 12, 1881. Sends Spofford a catalogue of his sale at Sotheby's, April 25–30. The last lot of the fourth day is the entire Franklin collection, if not previously sold. This had been offered to the State Department for £7000; but the papers had got it £5000. "This is of course a mistake;" £7000 was "the *absolute minimum price*." Therefore if Uncle Sam wanted the collection, he would have to pay that price. "Uncle Sam has not seen the Collection & is not qualified to beat me down until better informed. When he knows more he will not I think object to the £7000. Pray take this as gospel." HS Copy Book, I, 138]

### HENRY STEVENS TO HENRY O. HOUGHTON

[Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, London] February 12, 1881

My dear Sir, There is some mistake about the price of my *Franklin Collection* of books and manuscripts as given in the American Newspaper. I have never named any sum for it less than £7000, and have telegraphed to Washington that £7000 is my *absolute minimum price*. Uncle Samuel may whittle and chaw and bargain as much as he pleases but unless he comes square up to my figures he loses these Sibyline leaves. The papers are really more valuable than set forth in my specification, & if Uncle Sam wants them he must pay my price, for I know in this case whereof I write. If he declines the offer then I am free to negotiate for an edition in say 12 volumes. There is no good life & no good edition of Franklin's Works. Who speaks for the venture? Yours ever.

### HENRY STEVENS TO BENJAMIN PERLEY POORE

[HS Copy Book, I, 165] February 17, 1881

My dear Sir, Our good friend H. O. Houghton writes me that he has sent you my letter to him describing my "*Franklin Collection*" offered to the State Department through my brother B. F. Stevens. I drop you this line not to trouble you, but merely to confirm my letter & to say to you that the price named, £7000, is my absolute *minimum*. I see that some of the papers have it £5000 or $25,000. At first my letter and offer were intended only for the State Department, but I hear that Mr. Evarts has handed the matter over to the Congress. My history and estimate of the Collection I am willing to stand by. If fair & true, Uncle Sam may rest assured of a bargain at $35,000. Every fact & important statement can be verified. I hear that one or more members of the Committee say that my price is too high & that £4000 is enough. This must go for what it is worth, a Yankee whittling and bargaining. How can he or they tell, never having seen the papers? I do not ask to have my word or account taken for granted, but only as a basis for investigation. I offer the Collection on the basis of my statements & if the collection falls short, I must suffer. But I have no fear of that. Uncle Sam is hard at a bargain sometimes, and very foolish at others. But he, in this case, must accept my terms, or lose these sibylline leaves. I'll have no bartering with him, as I had with the solid men of Boston when I agreed to accept $4000 for my 300 Washington Books with Washington's Autographs, & then on one Boston plea after another never received for the Collection but $2700. When the solid men had got the books in possession, they declared the swan a goose & cut me down to $2700 & so maintained it till we had passed receipts, when the poor bird was a swan again. I mention this because you remember that you had the Announcement in the Boston Atlas [of?] a part of my purchase, & was well nigh beaten out of the truth of my assertion till I confirmed it. Well in this case I am willing that our Government shall have the Collection if it desires it, but at my price. My experience teaches me that my price is fair & reasonable. I sold to the British Museum my 73 little drawings of Gov. White of Virginia 1586–7 for £235. Gray's Elegy has sold in London twice since I have been here, first at £110 & 2d time £135, a single fools cap sheet, both times against me. Last July I bought by auction here a long letter of Burns for £95, and the 31 of January this year, I bought at Sothebys Scott's novel of *Guy Mannering* the 3 vols. the original Autograph MS. for £390, and Horace Walpole's English Painters, the first Strawberry Hill Ed. 5 vols. 4to. with many of Walpole MS. notes & eleven of his letters for £175, the same copy having at Walpole's own sale produced only £15 15*s*. Last July at the Ramirez Mexican sale here I bought books and Mexican Manuscripts to the extent of £2150, &c. Now in the face of these prices my *Franklin Collection* is cheap enough. At the most it is [*several words illegible*] to Uncle Sam the collection is cheap enough, & I have had it for 30 years, constantly improving it. He must excuse me if I have lost the knowledge of bargaining & whittling. £7000 is the lowest. You need not proclaim this on the house top or elsewhere, but if anybody asks you, pray say that Henry Stevens in this case knows what he is about, & that his Swan this time *is* a Swan and is so marked, & will be so protected. Mr. Lowell has had a glance at the collection, & if he desires it may inspect & report to his hearts content. I have great confidence in & respect for Hosea Bigelow & his judgment.

The Collection is my own. My brother has been authorized to offer it to the State Department during the present administration, that is up to 12 o'clock March 4. The collection is described in a printed catalogue of books &c. to be sold at Sothebys April 25–30th. The whole *Franklin Collection* to be sold in 1 lot April 29th "*if not previously disposed of*." It will be taken care of. No sale of this lot publicly or privately less than £7000.

Pray excuse this length & this hasty scrawl. Pray let me hear from you. Yours truly.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. S. MORGAN

[HS Copy Book, I, 261] London, April 12, 1881

Dear Sir, The Books and Manuscripts described and valued in the accompanying Catalogue are subject to the following liens:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To the Executors of the late Charles Whittingham as per account rendered Jan. 13th 1881 | £2871 | 12*s.* | 6*d.* |
| To Interest on Ditto to date | 35 | – | 3 |
| To B. F. Stevens as per account rendered to April 1st 1880, £392 3*s.* 2*d.* and estimated as now amounting with interest to date to | 412 | 12 | 8 |
| To Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge for advances on two lots in the Sale Catalogue | 75 | – | – |
| I desire to discharge these liabilities and to have the Auctioneers Messrs Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge sell the property as Catalogued (save the Franklin Collection), in my own name early in July. | | | |
| I am also desirous of paying B. F. Stevens his account just rendered for expenses in attempting to sell the Franklin Collection to the American Govt. | 129 | 19 | 7 |
| in all | £3524 | 5*s.* | – |

If you will kindly discharge these liabilities I offer you as security,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. An order on the auctioneers to pay over to you the net proceeds of the sale of all the books & MSS described in the accompanying Catalogue (except the Franklin Collection) estimated by me at a moderate valuation to produce gross | £2954 | 1*s.* | 6*d.* |
| less 10% Auctioneers Commission £295 8*s.* 2*d.* & agreed to be paid for the Franklin Collection sold or unsold £50 | 345 | 8 | 2 |
| Estimated net proceeds | £2608 | 13*s.* | 4*d.* |

II. For immediate security and after the sale of the Books as security for the deficiency (if any) I propose to at once deposit with you my entire Franklin Collection of Books & MSS as described in the Catalogue. My price for the collection is £7000 and I respectfully refer you to Mr. Bancroft Davis's letter accompanying this from which it will be seen the American Government valued them at £5000 and were willing to give that amount for the Collection.

III. As further security (if desired) to deposit to your order about 200 copies of my Nuggets, in sheets and about 400 copies of my Museum Catalogues, valued together at £400, now in possession of Mr.

Whittingham's Executors, not included in the Sale Catalogue but freed from lien on payment of the Account.

IV. To clear off the deficiency (if any) after the sale of the Books I will within one month after the sale deposit with the auctioneers rare books of ample value for a second sale early in the coming season, with an order for the proceeds to be paid to you as before [and until the time of such deposit, I hereby give you a general lien on my stock in trade, at my office, house and warehouse.][86] I am, my Dear Sir Yours truly.

Memorandum. Lots No. 1395, 1374 & 1519 in the Catalogue do not belong to me and are not included in the Valuation.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[May 7, 1881. Sends the first part of the catalogue of his sale on July 11–15, "rather later, but in my own control." He had had "no end of struggle" about the Franklin Collection, but he had paid off his creditors, and the sale was now in his name. "In this piece of good & successful manoeuvring I am largely indebted to you. Your letter was just the thing for me, & took the valuation of the Franklin Collection out of my own hands & enabled me to maintain my valuation." The sale of this catalogue would, he trusted, realize enough to discharge his debts, "& then Franklin will be my own & free, if not sold for the £7000." Then he would have two or three more sales "to flush my pockets. So pray accept my thanks for your valued services in enabling me to defeat this raid on my estate & honor." HS Copy Book, I, 304]

### THEODORE F. DWIGHT TO HENRY STEVENS (Copy)

[HS Copy Book, II, 92] London, June 27, 1881

Sir, I have completed the preliminary examination of the papers of Benjamin Franklin which have been offered by you for sale, and in pursuance of the instructions of the Secretary of State, under whose authority I have made this examination, it now becomes my duty to report to him the results thereof. In making this report it is desirable that I should communicate an expression on your part of your disposition towards the government of the United States with regard to affording the Department of State an opportunity to bring the Collection again before Congress, with a view to its acquisition, for preservation among the historical archives of our Country. It is my purpose to send my report in the despatch pouch this evening and I will thank you to provide me with the statement I have suggested, in the form of a letter addressed either to the Secretary of State, or myself as you may choose, at your early convenience. I am, Sir Your obedient Servant.

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[86] According to an explanatory marginal note by HS, April 21, 1881, the words in brackets were "added in, at Mr. Morgan's request, but this is not understood to mean that everything is locked up & I am not to go on with my regular business."

### HENRY STEVENS TO THEODORE F. DWIGHT

[Record Group 59, National Archives] London, June 27, 1881

Sir, In reply to your letter of even date with reference to my "Franklin Collection" asking 'an expression on my part of my disposition towards the Government of the United States with regard to affording the Department of State an opportunity to bring the Collection again before Congress with a view to its acquisition for preservation among the historical archives of our Country,' I have to say that in parting with the Collection, my preference is strongly in favor of my own and Franklin's Country becoming the future possessor. It is my present intention to abide by the announcement in the Catalogue and offer the Lot 1269 at the upset price of £7000 net if not "previously disposed of." But for the sake of giving you definite terms on which to act and report, I hereby authorise and request you to say to the Secretary of State, in effect, that if he desires & will recommend the Collection to Congress again for purchase at £7000 (Seven Thousand Pounds) I will withdraw it from the auction sale and give our government the pre-emption until the first day of January 1882. This official request may be sent to me direct or to my friends Messrs J. S. Morgan & Co., 22 Old Broad Street, London, E.C.

I hold myself however free to dispose of the Collection for £7000 should opportunity offer prior to the date of auction sale as announced. I am Sir Your obedient Servant.

### THEODORE F. DWIGHT TO SECRETARY OF STATE BLAINE

[Record Group 59, National Archives] London, June 28, 1881

Sir: In pursuance of your instructions to me under date of the 9th ultimo, I have the honour to make report concerning the first of the duties with which I was charged therein, that is to say, the examination of the manuscripts of Benjamin Franklin.

These papers now in the possession of Henry Stevens, a citizen of the United States, residing at London are a part of the collection relative to Franklin which was offered for sale to Congress during the winter of last year, and which forms the subject of a Senate Executive Document. By reason of the refusal of the proprietor of the collection to accept the amount which the committee in Congress, to whom the matter was referred, were willing to recommend for its purchase the sale was not effected. In consequence it was thereupon determined by the proprietor to proceed with the original plan for its disposition, that is to say of offering it for competition at public auction with other manuscripts and books. A copy of the sale catalogue is transmitted herewith: the Franklin collection is entered therein as lot number 1269 on page 159 and it is announced to be sold on the 14th of July, if an advance should be made upon the upset price of seven thousand pounds sterling.

It comprises the same material of books and manuscripts named in the list of the collection offered to Congress and, as I have ascertained, several additional articles of value, not specified therein.

In order that the collection may be properly presented to you for consideration, the former offer having been withdrawn, I requested Mr. Henry Stevens in a letter of this date to state the terms upon which he would again offer the collection to the Government, with a view to its acquisition for preservation among the national archives, to which it appears to me to belong. I will enclose herewith a copy of my letter and his reply.

At the time when the collection was first offered to the United States it was held by the executors of the estate of Mr. Charles Whittingham as security for a large and long standing money obligation, incurred by Mr. Henry Stevens, to realise which the sale had been determined upon; but before my arrival in England Mr. Henry Stevens obtained means to transfer the lien to Mr. Morgan, a London banker. Therefore the sale will be held ostensibly under his personal authority and all my transactions relative to the manuscripts have been solely with him (Mr. Stevens).

On the 7th instant I began my examination of the manuscripts which has been carried on chiefly at the British Museum where the entire series has been deposited.

While I do not consider my examination finished, I have turned over nearly every paper with more or less care as the character of each seemed to require, giving especial attention to those of historical importance, rather than to those of biographical or scientific interest. The former exceed the latter in number. I feel quite competent to give an opinion concerning them.

My opinion is that while they do not afford any new facts of great historical importance, they contain the story, in its details, and many, if not most, of the details are unknown to history, of the negotiations conducted almost single handed by Franklin in Europe by which a successful termination of the Revolutionary War was made possible; they show also, the means pursued by Franklin for extorting from England the terms favourable to the United States, of the definitive treaty of peace.

The record books in which the final transcripts of the letters of the Paris legation were entered at that time, have all the value of similar records or registers in the Department, similar I should say in character but not with respect to that period, for none identical with these exist elsewhere.

The duplicate original of the Petition of Congress to the King, citing the grievances which occasioned the Revolution, in this collection, is in a state of perfect preservation. As most of the delegates who signed it were continued in office during the period of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence we have in these signatures the names which have unhappily faded from the latter document, and on this account the Petition has become one of singular value.

It is to be regarded as the earliest of the series of four great instruments which mark as monuments the history of the establishment of the United States. They may be named in the following order:

The Petition of 1774;
The Declaration of 1776;
The Articles of Confederation;
The Constitution.

There are preserved in the Department of State the originals of all save the first of these instruments.

Accompanying the Petition is the letter of the president of the Continental Congress transmitting it to the agents of the colonies at London.

I am confirmed by my examination, in my former belief of the great importance of preserving as standards for history, the published as well as the unpublished papers to be found in this collection.

Having seen by comparison how imperfectly and incorrectly a large number of the former class have been printed by William Temple Franklin and Mr. Sparks, I desire to place great stress upon this opinion.

The difficulty of arriving at an estimate as to their pecuniary value is not lessened by my examination of the documents.

As I have before expressed myself, I still believe that the Government cannot afford to lose them even at the expense of so large a price as has been asked for them. I believe that they may be purchased for less, unless certain citizens of Boston by ignoring the claims of the United States carry out a scheme which I am informed is on foot to bid in the collection at the upset price of £7000.

I shall await here your further instructions on this subject. The letter which I send from Mr. Stevens, will stipulate his wishes with respect to withdrawing the collection from sale, should it be deemed desirable to authorise him to do so.

In order that this may go by to-night's pouch, I venture to send you my type-writer copy instead of the original. The original in my own hand shall go by next Thursday's mail. I am, Sir your obedient servant.

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THEODORE F. DWIGHT TO DEPARTMENT OF STATE (Telegram; copy)

[HS Copy Book, II, 101] June 29, 1881

REPORT ON FRANKLINS SENT IN POUCH JUNE 28. HENRY STEVENS OFFERS REFUSAL OF COLLECTION UNTIL JANUARY 1882, ON SECRETARY'S PROMISE TO RECOMMEND PURCHASE TO CONGRESS AT SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS. I RECOMMEND IMMEDIATE COMPLIANCE BY WIRE TO MINISTER.

### DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO AMBASSADOR JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL
(Telegram; copy)

[HS Copy Book, II, 101] June 30, 1881

INFORM STEVENS RECOMMENDATION WILL BE MADE TO CONGRESS IN DECEMBER FOR PURCHASE OF FRANKLIN PAPERS.

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### THEODORE F. DWIGHT TO HENRY STEVENS (Copy)

[HS Copy Book, II, 97] London, July 1, 1881

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date of the 27th Ultimo. It relates to your Franklin Collection and you therein authorise me to say to the Secretary of State, "that if he desires to and will recommend the Collection to Congress again for purchase at Seven Thousand Pounds I will withdraw it from the auction sale and give our government the preemption until the first day of January 1882."

Your letter I have sent with my report to the Secretary of State, and I have communicated to him by telegraph your offer, and a recommendation that it be accepted.

In order that I may definitely understand your purpose in this regard, I will thank you to state, when you will cause the Collection to be withdrawn from sale both private and public in the event of your receiving before the time announced for the auction, satisfactory assurance that the Secretary of State will again recommend the purchase of the Collection to Congress.

As you have advised me that there have been found several articles of interest, which make part of your Franklin Collection, since the preparation of the index of the MSS and the Catalogue of the printed Books, I also request that you will provide me with a list of the same. I am Sir Your obedient Servant.

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### HENRY STEVENS TO THEODORE F. DWIGHT

[Record Group 59, National Archives] London, July 5, 1881

Sir, In reply to your note of July 1st, and our conversation thereon today, respecting the "Franklin Collection" and my withdrawing it from sale by auction as advertised in my Catalogue and elsewhere, you add "I will thank you to state, when you will cause the Collection to be withdrawn from sale both private and public in the event of your receiving before the time announced for the Auction, satisfactory assurance that the Secretary of State will again recommend the purchase of the collection to Congress." The net price, as settled between us is £7000. I am willing now, in view of the collection going to the American government, to so far modify my offer of the 27th June as to make it read "that if the Secretary of State desires to purchase the Collection, and will again recommend its purchase to Congress, at Seven thousand pounds, I will at once withdraw it from the auction sale and give our government the refusal or preemption until the first day of January 1882, on receiving through the American Minister or otherwise, satisfactory assurance that the Secretary of State will again recommend the purchase of the Collection to Congress, this time at my price of £7000." I am, Sir, Your Obedient Servant.

### THEODORE F. DWIGHT TO HENRY STEVENS (Copy)

[HS Copy Book, II, 100] London, July 6, 1881

SIR: Your letter of the 5th Instant has been received. It contains a modification of your offer of June 27th of your Franklin Collection to the Government of the United States, to wit; "that if the Secretary of State desires to purchase the Collection, and will again recommend its purchase to Congress, at seven thousand pounds, I will at once withdraw it from the Auction Sale and give our government the refusal or preemption until the first day of January 1882, on receiving from the American Minister or otherwise satisfactory assurance that the Secretary of State will again recommend the purchase of the Collection to Congress this time at my price of £7000."

Upon communicating the above to Mr. Lowell, the United States Minister at London, he furnished me with the statement I now transmit, in which he has transcribed a telegram received by him from the Secretary of State, concerning your offer.

I also enclose a copy of the telegram to which that is an answer. I am Sir Your obedient Servant.

### SECRETARY OF STATE BLAINE TO HENRY STEVENS (Copy)

[HS Copy Book, II, 102] Washington, July 15, 1881

Sir, Your letter of the 28th Ultimo in relation to the terms of sale of your Collection of Franklin papers, has been received.

Acceptance of the proposition you make touching their possible acquisition by the Congress, was anticipated by an instruction sent by telegraph to Mr. Lowell on the 30th Ultimo, directing him to inform you that recommendation will be made to Congress in December for the purchase of the Franklin Papers. The price recommended to be paid will not exceed your limit of Seven thousand pounds.

I trust that the eventual disposition of this valuable Collection will be such that it will pass to this Country and be permanently accessible to the American public. I am Sir Your obedient Servant.

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### HENRY STEVENS TO J. S. MORGAN

[HS Copy Book, I, 500] London, August 6, 1881

My dear Mr. Morgan, Here is Sothebys Account of the late sale, showing a balance (excluding the Franklins) of £1549 7*s.* in your favor, payable to you on the 21st of Sept. Adding £160 for the Georgia Papers, you will have to credit my account with £1709 7*s.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Your advances amounted to | £3528 | 15*s.* | 2*d.* |
| Add 5 months interest | 73 | 10 | |
| | £3602 | 5 | 2 |
| Proceeds of sale as above | 1709 | 7 | |
| Status 21st Sept. | £1892 | 18*s.* | 2*d.* |

This is not quite so well as I expected on the books but on the other hand I am better situated than I feared on the *Franklin*, and I have got all my stock out of the hands of the Executors of Mr. Whittingham. The Franklin I consider as sold for £7000, payable to you in January next. I send you the correspondence including Mr. Blaines confirmation of his telegram to Minister Lowell. Judge Davis who is here has seen the Correspondence & knows the Circumstances. He says that Blaine is in earnest and will put it thro', [and when Congress meets?] in December, will himself see that the Amount (£7000) is put into a deficiency bill, so that it may be paid to you as soon as it is passed. Ergo, *if you get* the £7000 there will be £5000 or so to the good for me, after discharging my pecuniary liabilities to you (the moral ones I dont pretend to pay).

My stock now on which you have a lien is as follows,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | The Franklin Collection (the MSS at the British Museum) | | £7000 |
| 2. | Humboldt's busts, 1 marble & 2 bronze, colossal | | 500 |
| 3. | Stock of B.M. Catalogues, Nuggets, Indian Laws, Spanish tracts &c. | | 450 |
| 4. | Books not sold at the sale | £441 16*s.* 6*d.* | |
| | less Georgia | 160 (worth £600) | 281 16 6 |
| | | | £8232 |
| 5. | Proceeds of 2d. Sale in Decr. net, say | | 1500 |
| 6. | Proceeds of 3d. Sale in May net, say | | 1000 |
| | | | £10732 |

Upon all this surplus, I consider that, according to the papers, you have a lien until you are fully paid. All is insured to the full Amount. The more precious of the original Franklin MSS. I should be glad to have placed in your vaults, in say 2 not large trunks; the rest may safely remain at the B. Museum & the bulky books at my house.

Harry and I consider ourselves greatly advanced this half year, & begin to breath more freely, having now positively no one to sit upon us. Our thanks to you cannot be expressed, but we will from time to time, try & show them. Yours truly.

### HENRY STEVENS TO SIMON STEVENS

[November 1, 1881. Explains the present status of the Franklin Collection; he considers it as virtually sold to the United States government. He has written fully to his old friend Judge Bancroft Davis, who has promised, if consulted, to set things straight. Stevens would ask no one else. If Simon thought he could help by speaking to the President, Secretary Blaine, Senator Windom, Senator Edmunds, and others, he might do so. "I leave the matter in your discretion. But I want no wire-pulling, or lobying." HS Copy Book, I, 654]

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[November 5, 1881. Reminds Davis "that the Summer is past and that the harvest time, for bring[ing] my *Franklins* to the garner is up." Is sure that if Davis has the opportunity he will "give the matter a lift in the right direction." He considers the State Department's telegram (which came through the Minister), that the purchase would be recommended to Congress, as amounting to a "bona fide sale" to the United States for £7000, on the sole condition that Congress appropriate the money. The case is analagous to Gladstone's purchase of the Castellani collection for the British Museum for £40,000, provided Parliament would grant the money, which Parliament at once did. Has given the government until Jan. 1, 1882, to close the matter, which is all the time Dwight asked, "& I do not consider myself bound beyond that time. But I shall do nothing not on the square. . . . Pray see that I am properly understood and appreciated. The Franklins will speak for themselves." HS Copy Book, I, 642]

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[HS Copy Book, I, 708] December 3, 1881

My dear Judge, Your letter of the 18th Nov. was right welcome to me, & I cordially thank you for the intelligent trouble you have so kindly taken in the matter of my *Franklin Collections*. I dare not be sanguine about any thing nowadays that will have a tendency to lift my nose from the grind-stone. I have been a hard laborer all my days, & it may so continue to the end; but if Uncle Sam really buys my *Franklin Collection*, as he unquestionably ought to do, I shall consider my pot boiled, and the rest of my life open to otium cum dignitate. It wont take much to set us up in contentment, and leisure enough to go on and finish the some 20 books I have already in type. Bring this about & Mrs. Stevens & I will bless you forever. However if Uncle Sam dont want his early records, they are worth something over here. I expect no end of lies & misrepresentations will come up in the newspapers. 'Twas ever thus! All swans are geese to buyers, and never become swans again until acquired. If you see any thing in the papers [funny?], pray send it to me, and if anything goes wrong, pray set it right, as you only can do. I consider the Collection fairly purchased by the State Department, as Gladstone purchased the Castellani Collections for the British Museum for £41000, "subject to the approval & vote of Parliament." If the question arise of Uncle Sam's stopping to take out his jack-knife to whittle on the bargain, pray signify to him that it will be of no use. £7000 is my *lowest*, and if not taken now, Uncle Sam may never have another chance, especially at the price. I will have no bargaining, & no lobying. The first of January 1882 was the limit named, & I shall be glad to have the matter settled by that time, but I am aware of the necessity of the holidays & shall not mind a little delay if the thing [needs it?].

So pray continue your good works & see that the welfare of our Great & Glorious Country is attended to, at the same time not forgetting me. Our kindest regards to Yourself & Mrs. Davis. Ever Yours truly.

Pray see that the Franklin Collections go in my name "Henry Stevens." There has been a tendency to suppress my name. I dont desire to play Jackall to Franklin but I dont wish any little glory attaching to a 30 years labor of this sort to be shunted on to anothers shoulders.

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### SECRETARY OF STATE BLAINE TO SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN

[December 17, 1881. Transmits the report on Stevens' Franklin collection made by the librarian of the State Department (Dwight). "Convinced of the authenticity and the very great historical value of these papers, and that they are necessary to complete the archives of the government of a very important period of its history," he recommends that Congress take immediate action to appropriate £7000 for the purchase of the collection. 47th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Misc. Doc., No. 21]

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### THEODORE F. DWIGHT TO SECRETARY OF STATE BLAINE

[Enclosed in Blaine to Sherman, Dec. 17, 1881]

[November 30, 1881. States the results of his examination of the Franklin manuscripts: 1. Authenticity: they are "without doubt" Franklin's papers and the same which he bequeathed to William

Temple Franklin. 2. Condition: they have been arranged, copied and collated, the copies being "serviceable for consultation" and the original manuscripts "quite as perfect as a large part of the papers among the national archives." 3. Historical value: these papers contain the history of the colonies' efforts to prevent war with England, of the diplomacy of the American Revolution, and of the peace negotiations; the Petition of Congress to the King, 1774, is "the document of greatest individual importance." 4. Desirability: original documents, however often or accurately printed, never lose their importance as standards by which all copies are tested; moreover, these papers are not relics or antiquarian curiosities, but the authentic records of the national history, and as such deserve to be preserved. 47th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. Misc. Doc., No. 21]

### SECRETARY OF STATE BLAINE TO HENRY STEVENS (Copy)

[HS Copy Book, II, 104] Washington, December 17, 1881

Sir: Your letter of the 24th ultimo has been received. It relates to your offer to sell to the United States your collection of papers and books relative to Benjamin Franklin.

In reply I have to state that the Collection, in conformity with my promise, has again been recommended to Congress and I trust that your offer will be accepted. I am Sir Your obedient Servant.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS ("Personal")

[December 17, 1881. Congratulates Davis on his appointment as Undersecretary of State. He had heard or seen nothing about the Franklin collection, though everyone said the bill was sure to pass. One important point should not be overlooked: the collection was long mortgaged to, and in possession of, the executors of Charles Whittingham, who "moved heaven & earth to get control of the property for their own account and probably would have succeeded had not our friend Morgan seen how matters stood & advanced me some £3500 to pay off their claims." The manuscripts were now deposited in the British Museum for safekeeping, subject to Morgan's order. Stevens hopes Davis can arrange that the collection will be sent to Washington through Morgan, and the money paid through him. "I particularly desire that the papers be not permitted to go into the hands of the Whittingham Executors again . . . [and] that no access to the papers may be had *here*." HS Copy Book, I, 744]

### HENRY STEVENS TO SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN

[HS Copy Book, II, 26] January 5, 1882

DEAR SIR, Mr. Blaine on the 17th Dec. wrote me that he had, in accordance with the arrangements of last July, again recommended to Congress the purchase of my "Franklin Collection" for the sum of £7000, and I see in the *Congressional Record* of the 21st Dec. the Resolution you offered referring the recommendation & papers from the Secretary of State to the Joint Library Committee, & ordering the papers to be printed. So far all is satisfactory to me & I thank you for the interest you take in the matter. In my correspondence with Mr. Dwight who spent a month or so at the British Museum examining the Papers, Mr. Lowell & Mr. Blaine, a limit was fixed for the completion of the purchase, viz. the 1st of January 1882. Lest any doubt or question may be raised on this limitation, I hereby authorize you to extend for two months this limitation, that is from the first of January to the first of March 1882. I hope however that the question will be decided one way or the other before that time (the 1st of March next).

My desire and ambition is that my entire Franklin Collection (without any reserve) shall go as it is, and was described in my catalogue finished last April, for the sale in July. I printed off a few copies of my Account of the "*Franklin Collection*" separately, and lest you may not have a copy by you for reference, I send you one today by post. The opportunity now occurs for the U. S. Government to acquire the entire collection as therein described for £7000. I will only add that my old friend Mr. Evarts in London last Summer told me that he was aware that I asked £7000, but he thought that any good old Vermonter that asked £7000 for a piece of property would gladly take £5000, and so as Secretary of State he ventured to recommend the purchase of the "Franklin Collection" at $25,000. Upon learning this I telegraphed him that £7000 was my lowest. The Collection had not then been fully described & the Agent of the State Department had not then carefully examined and reported upon it. Mr. Evarts visited the British Museum & spent some two hours in examining the Franklin Papers; and I think that in the mean time he became convinced that a regular Green Mountain Missionary to London of more than 35 years standing had acquired the habit of making his asking and taking prices identical.

I shall feel greatly obliged if you will send me any papers printed by the Senate respecting this negotiation. Any further information in my power to give, required by the Committee, is at your call.

In return for any printed papers on this Franklin Collection negotiation that you may find time to send me, I intend to enclose two or 3 of my little squibs, which at your leisure you may show to my old friend the Chairman of the Committee on printing as samples of what we can do in London in the "Art preservative of all arts." I am, Dear Sir, Very respectfully Your Obedient Servant.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[January 5, 1882. Stevens has heard from Secretary Blaine that the latter has recommended the Franklin Collection to Congress, on the basis of the agreement reached last July in London. Dwight confirms this information, and has sent a copy of the Congressional Record, showing that Senator Sherman had the matter referred to the Library Committee, the papers to be printed. "All right so far." Lest any question arise about the January 1, 1882, time limit, Stevens hereby authorizes Davis to extend the time two months, if necessary, i.e., to March 1; and he had today written the same to Dwight and Sherman. "I dont wish to be sharp with Uncle Samuel, but at the same time I am willing that he should know that there [are] other Richmonds in the field." Since Stevens' arrangement was made with the State Department, £6000 had been offered him for the manuscripts alone; but he disliked to break the collection. He hopes that payment will be made through Morgan or Biggs & Co. and Mr. Lowell; Morgan can ship the collection better than anyone else. A project was now afoot to re-issue, in cheap form, an edition of Sparks' life and Writings of Franklin, from the original plates. The copyright had expired, the editing was obsolete, and Stevens opposed the plan and was "disposed to defeat any attempt at new vamping them [the plates] by additional matter or by corrections by my Collections." HS Copy Book, II, 22]

AMBASSADOR LOWELL TO SECRETARY OF STATE FRELINGHUYSEN

[Record Group 59, National Archives] London, February 6, 1882

Sir, Referring to your No. 306, of the 23rd ultimo, received this morning, I have the honour to report that a year ago I made as thorough an examination of the Franklin papers as circumstances would allow. In this I was greatly helped by the excellent index-catalogue of Mr. B. F. Stevens, which enabled me at once to form a judgment as to the amount and importance of the unprinted matter. This, of course, would be one and an important element in forming an estimate of the value of these documents at public sale. Another and perhaps hardly less important element would be the number and interest of autograph signatures of distinguished men or of documents wholly in their handwriting. I soon came to the conclusion that there was very little of historical interest that had not already been published, and that the number of autographs was not great enough to warrant any extravagant expectations from the sale.

Under these circumstances, I thought the price asked too high, and I believed moreover that the papers could then have been obtained at a lower price. I am still of the same belief on both points. No doubt the opinion of an expert would have been worth more than mine, but I was asked for mine and gave it accordingly. The question proposed was as to the value of these papers, that is, their value in money, and I felt bound to say upon my honour that Mr. Henry Stevens was asking too much. I could not be a party to any such bargain. But there is another value about which my judgment was not asked, I mean the sentimental value, the value arising from the origin and associations of these papers. To us they have something of the inestimable interest of family letters, and I should consider Congress entirely justified in paying what the Italians call a price of affection for such papers, even though it were, as I believe the price demanded is, considerably beyond the market value.

Certainly there can be no question that the Public Archives at Washington is the proper place for the deposit and conservation of documents like those, and I think that their inevitable dispersion, which would follow on their not being purchased for the Government, is worth preventing, even at some overestimate of their saleable value. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Your obedient servant.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS ("Not Official")

[HS Copy Book, II, 206] April 1, 1882

My dear Davis, I thank you very much for your letter of the 16th March in re the Franklin Collection. It is a great relief to my mind to hear something authentic, especially as I hear all sorts of rumors which seem to have no foundation. I am sorry and vexed that my brother Simon Stevens has been interfereing. I at once wrote him to hold back and let the thing slide. If Uncle Sam wants the collection he will buy it. If I had known how much worry and anxiety this delay & overhauling would cost me I do not think I should have consented to offer the Collection. I hear two stories about Lowell's opinion & cannot believe either of them as they came to me. They are 1st. that he valued the Collections at $20,000 & 2d that Stevens' necessities were such that he probably would accept $20,000. Now if he expressed his opinion of the value at $20,000 that was all right and fair, but it is also right and fair for me to say that he never could have had any sensible basis for forming that opinion. It is true that he had sent him by the Executors of Mr. Whittingham the *copies* of many of the MSS. and he saw some of the originals at Sothebys auction rooms for an hour or two in a room crowded with books & MSS. Such cursory examinations should go for what they are worth & no more. His opinion then expressed is perhaps as good as any one else's who can know nothing, or little, about what he ventures his opinion. Mr. Lowell is so sound a man that I think he could not be very positive. 2dly, if my necessities were such in March 1881 under pressure of the executors of my friend the printer and money lender that the mortgage would be foreclosed, perhaps Mr. Lowell would be justified in expressing his opinion that the Collections might probably be had for $20,000. There is no doubt that the Executors were laying their traps to foreclose & secure possession of the Collections. [*Illegible word*] they fought hard against rendering a bottom line. But as soon as I got my catalogue ready & they were compelled to render an exact account, I informed them that they need not worry me any longer, they could have their money the next Tuesday. The next Tuesday they were accordingly paid off, and since then have had no claim on me or my stock in any shape. The Franklin Collections then became my own absolute property, & my acceptance of Mr. Dwights terms was therefore in my own hands. Whatever Mr.

Lowells opinion of my necessities therefore was when he telegraphed to Edmunds or anyone else in March 1881, vanished when Messrs. Morgan & Co. paid off in my behalf all liens on my property mortgaged to the Whittinghams. The necessities have thus vanished & the opinion based on them therefore falls to the ground. I state all this with an if, for I have no good and sufficient reason to think that Mr. Lowell ever telegraphed anything so slipshod. Mr. Evarts tells me that he was vexed with the Library Committee because after he had sent to them his recommendation that the Collections should be bought for £5000, the Chairman of the Library Committee took it upon himself to telegraph to the Minister about the Matter instead of applying to the Department for further information. [It was because of this?] breach of official etiquette that Mr. Evarts withdrew from the matter & would have nothing more to do with it. This he told me himself as I understood him. I give you this gossip, not to influence you or any body else, but just to let you know the truth as I see it. My brother Simon writes me urgently to see Lowell & get him to explain or revise his opinion. I do not think this dignified or necessary. Mr. Lowell has a perfect right to express any opinion he likes, & I do not think it prudent to ask him what that opinion was he expressed, but I have, I think, a right to say that he never had any sufficient ground to stand on to give an opinion with a snap. I say this with the most perfect respect for Mr. Lowell. The truth is nobody has ever seen the Franklin MSS that is now living but yourself. How then can any one give an opinion? Dwight took nearly a month to go over the MSS. in a favorable place in the British Museum, not to carefully read, but to examine & tick them off, & to see that my description was fair & honest. Mr. Evarts spent some two hours looking them over at the Museum, not officially but to gratify his own taste and curiosity. The Collection of books no body has seen, not even Mr. Lowell. I value them at about £1000. The list is a [guarantee?] for twice I came very near selling the whole here, but after much pressure from Dwight withdrew the Collection from the sale and agreed to hold it for the State Department's recommendation to Congress till Jan. 1, 1882. This delay is worrying me and I wish the matter would terminate one way or another. I am now thank goodness not obliged to sell & £7000 is my minimum. You did not say if my letter to Senator Sherman was delivered to him. I rely however on your discretion, common sense and friendship. I respect

Congress but it is a slow Coach in which I do not choose to journey more. My regards to your good wife. Come over here for your holidays & be here the first week in July, to attend our Noviomagian annual gathering. Your friend.

[*In the margins:*] The reissue of Sparks Franklin in 10 volumes is a mistake. I have nothing to do with it & it is wholly against my wish. The copyright expired last year, & I have been *done* out of the stereotype plates.

Pray keep me posted if you ever have any leisure.

### HENRY STEVENS TO SIMON STEVENS

[HS Copy Book, II, 245] April 22, 1882

My dear Simon, Yours to hand this morning. Dont think any thing more about the Franklin & Washington matters. I did not tell you that it was Davis who wrote me & you should not jump so fast. I was cautioned not to wire-pull or let my brothers do so. Politicians dont like to be influenced. Let them have their own slow way. I have not much hope that the Congress will pass the appropriation after all. They may or not as they please. The Uncle Sam will not get his records unless he is smart about it. I have no doubt that you could be of great service in getting such a matter through, but as it is my matter, I am fearful, that any pushing from us will have the wrong effect.

Since I wrote you last mail I have had a kind of windfall and money is falling in, so that I can pay a good sum on account next week (this is Saturday). I shall as soon pay off the whole £200, the whole of it within a month from the 18th.

We are all well. Harry is working hard with me, but we feel the uncertainty of the Franklin affair. Every body thinks that the Collection is sold and paid for. Had I the business to do over again, I would treat Uncle Sam more like a common individual & close my bargain with him when he was ready to pay his money. If he declines to pass the Grant this session, the price will be for next year 5 per cent added to £7000 & so on if not sold to any body else. I am awfully nervous about the business but shall lie low till the end of this session. Yours affectionately.

### HENRY STEVENS TO LLOYD P. SMITH

[HS Copy Book, II, 309] May 13, 1882

My dear Sir, I received a day or two since your welcome letter of the 25th April, and today a copy of your libraries report dated 1st May, from both of which I am informed of the Library Company's embarking upon the dangerous but fascinating enterprise of purchasing & collecting historical Manuscripts. Good, Go ahead & prosper, & dont forget that it requires twice as much discretion to buy MSS. profitably as to collect books. I wish our American Libraries had begun earlier. But they all seem to be waking up now, when, I fear, the greater number are lost.

As to what you say about my "*Franklin Collections*" I hardly know, just now how to reply. I am kept so much in the dark, as to the present state of affairs. Uncle Sam bought the Collections in July 1881 through the State Dept. subject only to his ability to get a grant of £7000 net from the Congress. This was to be done by Jan. 1, 1882. I extended the time to March 1st. I have heard incidentally that the Library Committee have reported favorably & that the Grant has gone into the "Sundry Civil Appropriation," which will go through, or not, probably at the close of the session, somewhere about the end of June. Under these circumstances I think all I can do is to hold still & wait. I have done no wire-pulling or lobying & do not intend to. If Uncle Sam wants the "*Franklin Collections*," he may buy them, but all offers, liens, arrangements, refusals & preferences terminate with the present session. I presume our Government will carry out the Contract made with me through the State Department & the American Legation here. If our Govt. allows the Congress to adjourn & dont complete the purchase, I shall then be free to write you freely. You may then telegraph me to "Mulier, London" what you desire & I will give you a prompt answer. In any case, however, no *less* a sum than £7000 cash for delivery in London will be accepted for the entire collections. It may be more. Several negotiations that were broken off in July last on my giving the refusal of the Collection to the Govt. till Jan. 1st, 1882, may be renewed.

After Washington, I confess that my preference is for Phil. but the birthplace of Franklin, Boston, has good claims. My preference & my patriotism, however, have very little to do with the matter. If the

U. S. Govt. fails to complete the purchase by the adjournment of Congress, I shall then feel at liberty to adopt the rule of the barbier shop & go on the motto "first come, first served," only adding the good old rule of the Sybil, "to raise the price every time refused."

Sorry to be so indefinite, hands tied. Wait a little longer.

Are you not coming over to attend our Library Association Annual Meeting at Cambridge 5th–9th Sept.? We are expecting to have a good time. We have had lots of wrangling but all appears to be quiet now. I have just read over your report containing a list of the Books printed in Phil. 1685 to 1734, and find it very interesting. I am always glad to hear from you. Yours truly.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. S. MORGAN

[HS Copy Book, II, 435] August 9, 1882

My dear Mr. Morgan, A telegram yesterday informs me that the "Franklin passed," and today Davis tells me that he saw you yesterday and would today write to his nephew the present under Secretary of State, to ask him to come out, tick off & receive the collections for the State Department; or to send out Mr. Dwight the librarian of the Department.

I congratulate our Uncle Samuel. Yours ever truly and gratefully.

### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[HS Copy Book, II, 436] August 12, 1882

My dear Davis, Your suggestion is a good one & I will attend to it at once, but I do not think there will be any thing of any importance missing.

In the Manuscripts, not only is there nothing missing but I have found 20 to 40 papers never included in the Collections as arranged and catalogued by the Whittinghams, & never in their hands, having been bought subsequently. All these however I intend to include. Some of them are valuable.

As to the printed books, almanacs, newspapers, pamphlets &c. &c. I have lately ticked them off, & find nearly every one of them all right. All the rare ones are here. Two titles of unimportant pamphlets, not relating to Franklin that somehow got printed I have not yet found, & there is a mistake about one little cheap Dutch edition of Franklin that was never printed complete. All these may be worth a pound, & the former 2 may yet turn up & the unfinished Franklin must be charged to a mistake. On the other hand since my sale to the Govt. in July 1881, I have bought some 30 or 40 printed books of Franklin & concerning him, some of them of importance, which I am willing to hand over at cost. I have also bought a long & very valuable autograph letter of Franklin for £14, I think, which I am willing to transfer at cost.

As I have orders for many of the more common American Books in the Collection, such as the Diplomatic Correspondence, Sparks &c. which are in the Congress Library already, probably in duplicate, I shall be willing to retain them, if not wanted, allowing their full value. But all this will go as soon as possible to Spofford, with an exact list of the less than a half dozen unimportant items that *may* not turn up.

I hope your nephew may be able to come out to receive the papers. The list is printed by the Congress & he & one of Morgan's clerks can tick them all off in two or three mornings. I will have them in good order for that purpose. Yours ever truly.

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### HENRY STEVENS TO J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS

[HS Copy Book, II, 488] September 26, 1882

My dear Judge, I was very sorry not to have seen you and your good wife when you passed through London. Your note was sent to me at Cambridge where I was flourishing in the Congress of Librarians. Since my return I have been almost laid up with the bronchitis. I wrote to Spofford some time since and gave him a list of eleven unimportant books (probably all duplicated already in the Congress library) that I had not yet found. These as priced for insurance two years ago amounted to £5 18*s*. Since then some of them have turned up, & I hope to find others. As to the MSS. nothing is missing. *All* the rarer lots of the 203 printed books & tracts are here & ready. Since my catalogue of the Franklin Books was printed and my collections offered to the Secretary of State I have collected more than 50 books and tracts relating to Franklin, and am now printing a list of them as a supplement to my Frankliniana, & shall send a proof of it as soon as possible to Spofford. I have told Spofford that if on the final ticking off any of those eleven tracts are still wanting he may select an equivalent from my 50 by way of settlement, & then the rest will be offered to him for the Congress Library, as additions to the "Stevens Franklin Collection" at very moderate prices.

I have again today written to Spofford & to your nephew about his coming over or sending a *trusty* to tick off, & receive the goods of Morgan, & have told them both that though the "shorts" amount to less than £5, it is desirable that they agree on a plan of settlement as you suggested. I do not yet give up finding every lot, but still I *may* not. I must have had every lot, for the list was printed from my old slip made from the books themselves. I hope your nephew will come over. I suppose the difference between $35,000 and £7000 (some £210) will pay the expense of landing the Franklin Collections in Washington & give some one a holiday.

I am having every thing ticked off & ready for the final ticking. I hope your nephew (or his substitute) will come soon, for the cold weather is coming on & I am desirous of getting my dear Wife off south during the London smoke. But I cannot go till I get my Franklin Elephant off my shoulder. If your Nephew comes there will be no difficulty about the delivery with Morgan. Morgan will let the Secretary have his own way, but if any lesser person comes, Morgan will probably have to go in the regular line of business. Let your nephew come with his wife & have a good time. We'll help him *do* London.

I was sorry, & so was Mrs. Stevens to have seen so little of you & Mrs. Davis. Better luck next time. Yours ever truly.

### HENRY STEVENS TO SECRETARY OF STATE FRELINGHUYSEN

[October 3, 1882. Having learned from the public papers and other sources that Congress had, in August, appropriated $35,000 to buy his Franklin collection, he writes "to say that I am prepared to make the transfer, on short notice & upon the terms stipulated in the Correspondence and in the Act of Congress." HS Copy Book, II, 501]

### HENRY STEVENS: MEMORANDUM

[HS Copy Book, II, 547] October 30, 1882

*Memorandum.* 30th Oct. 1882. Mr. Hoppin read me this morning the instructions he had received from the Department of State, to the effect that he or Mr. Nadal was to tick off and receive my *Franklin Collections,* and to draw on the Department for £7000 in payment for the same, taking my receipt therefor, and forwarding the Collections, by different steamers, dividing the risk. It was arranged between Mr. Hoppin & me that my son Harry & I should this week finish arranging in the order of the lists the MS. & books, and then that Mr. Nadal should go over them with us & tick them off officially next week. This official work will probably take us a week or 10 days.

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### HENRY STEVENS TO JUNIUS S. MORGAN

[HS Copy Book, II, 608] December 9, 1882

Dear Mr. Morgan, I saw Mr. Hoppin on Thursday. The ticking off & certifying rests with Mr. Nadal, who began work in earnest yesterday at the British Museum with Harry. *We*—Harry & I—have already ticked off all the manuscripts & arranged them. Not one is missing. It is to be hoped therefore that Mr. Nadal will identify and pass the whole before the end of next week—16th—including the printed Books at my office.

Mr. Lowell, according to Mr. Hoppin, will accept delivery at the British Museum, and pay on delivery, something in this way. Mr. Lowell will draw a cheque in my favor for £7000, which I am to endorse to you or your firm. You to give an order on Mr. George Bullen of the B.M. to hold the Stevens Franklin Collections in his care subject to the order of Mr. Lowell. Mr. Bullen says he will recognize this order in such manner as Mr. Lowell desires. Finally you & Mr. Lowell, or your representatives, will exchange ratifications at the British Museum, you taking the cheque & he the Collections. If Mr. Nadal finishes by today week, 16th, we can see them all packed in tin & made ready for shipment before the 23d. Yours truly.

### HENRY STEVENS TO AMBASSADOR LOWELL

[HS Copy Book, II, 637] December 30, 1882

Dear Sir, I find that my Franklin Collection will be completed for delivery by Tuesday next.

I propose therefore to make the transfer to you at the Library of the British Museum on Wednesday, Jany. 3, 1883, at 12 o'clock, if that hour will suit your convenience. I name this early hour in order that the Collection, when verified and transferred may, if you desire it, be at once officially ticked off, assorted into the proposed three or more shipments, and be packed in tin-lined cases, be soldered up & screwed down (ready for removal at any time by your order)—before 4 o'clock, the hour of closing the Library.

Pray let me know if this hour of 12 suits you, so that I may arrange with Mr. Burns, and with Mr. Bullen the Librarian, to meet us there then (or at any other hour more convenient for you) to effect the transfer.

My son or I will meet you in the Hall at the appointed time.

The insurance in the Sun Office on the Collection expires on Saturday Jan. 6th '83.

I will on Monday furnish you with a revised list of the deficiencies in the printed books, together with the prices affixed to each when insured prior to the offer to the State Dept.

I will also at the same time hand you a list, with prices of the 50 lots sent out, as agreed from which Mr. Spofford may select an equivalent in value to the deficiencies. I remain, Dear Sir Yours faithfully.[87]

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### HENRY STEVENS TO SECRETARY OF STATE FRELINGHUYSEN

[HS Copy Book, II, 643] London, January 6, 1883

Dear Sir, My *Franklin Collection* was transferred to Mr. Lowell, at the British Museum, last Wednesday, January 3d, and he at once placed it in the hands of the U. S. Despatch Agent of London to be sent without delay, by three different Steam Ships, to the State Department, fully insured.

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[87] On the second leaf of this letter HS prepared a memorandum indicating what should go into each chest and which chests should form each of the three shipments.

The entire Collection has been rearranged, indexed & bound under my own inspection, and I trust will give you & others full satisfaction, and satisfy the incredulous even that the £7000 has been well spent. It fills 7 or 8 Cases lined with tin. I have the honor to be Dear Sir Your Obedient Servant.

### HENRY STEVENS TO AINSWORTH R. SPOFFORD

[HS Copy Book, II, 644] January 6, 1883

My dear Sir, At last, I am happy to say, my *Franklin Collection* has been transferred to Mr. Lowell, who has instructed the U. S. Despatch Agent in London to ship it to the Department of State, by three different Steam Ships, with as little delay as possible.

Knowing as I do the intrinsic value of this Collection, and having got the £7000 in my pocket, I congratulate our Uncle Samuel on his acquisition. The collection (both MSS. and printed books) goes in apple pie order, & I trust will give satisfaction, and convince the incredulous that the price named was not too high. The infinite pains that I have taken will I trust be appreciated both by the Secretary of State, and the Librarian of Congress. The entire collection has been revised, rearranged, indexed & bound under my own Inspection. Of the printed Books 22 lots were found deficient or not ready for shipment. I handed Mr. Lowell a list of them with the insurance valuations of each attached. Several of these 22 will be offered you before long at the same prices. To compensate for these deficiencies I have sent 50 lots with prices, including the extra binding, from which you may select enough to cover the deficiencies & return or purchase the rest, as you please. These 50 are additional to my printed list, bringing the number of titles up to 205 + 50 = 255. I have still now on hand probably about 150 more which I shall place in the hands of the binder at once, carrying my Franklin Collection of printed books up to 400 titles or about 500 volumes. This I propose to give you the preemption to go into the "Stevens Collection" of Frankliniana if you desire it. I shall be glad if you can arrange to keep the whole in one press, or case, by themselves.

I shall write further soon. Yours truly.

# Three Views of Charles Francis Adams, II

[*The papers that follow, read at the May, 1960, meeting, are by grandsons of Charles Francis Adams (1835-1915), "soldier, civilian, administrator, historian," as his brother Henry characterized him.*—EDITOR.]

## The Civil War's Part in Charles Francis Adams

THIS paper had its inception in the fall of 1958, when the three grandsons of Charles Francis Adams who are before you this afternoon presented to the Quincy Historical Society their memories and opinions of their grandfather. My part in the undertaking was to discuss Charles Francis Adams and the Civil War. I agreed to do so with the lightheartedness of the late summer academic, tackled the actual work in the heats of term-time with a rueful memory that Paul Buck had once compared me to Dorothy Parker's girl friend, the one that spoke seventeen languages and couldn't say no in any of them, and ended feeling very grateful to the Quincy Historical Society. I had remembered my grandfather, I had listened to older relatives talking about him, I had read his autobiography; but until I undertook to arrange my casually gathered impressions and to deepen them by reading his Civil War letters, published and unpublished, I had not at all understood him. A measure, at least, of understanding I owe to the Quincy Historical Society.

My own memories are vivid but apparently inconsequential. I remember his testing the temperature of the water at The Glades and the temperature of the scrambled eggs in Lincoln. He did the first by chucking in, as soon as he got to the bathing rocks, a thermometer rigged to a cork. Then he undressed and dove in, coming up facing his grandson and looking, I must say, very like a walrus, swam purposefully to the thermometer, checked it, and then struck off for his swim. He did the second by sticking in his finger and roaring like a bull at the chill. I don't remember much, but I do remember a man to whom life was not a passive experience. To those memories I added his portrait, the one that greets you at the foot of the stairs in the

Massachusetts Historical Society, casual anecdotes, the autobiography, and, finally, his Civil War letters. These are my sources.

Of these sources, there is this to be said: a portrait is posed; an autobiography is posed. No matter how honestly the one is painted, the other written, each is a conscious effort at representation. Inevitably there is some distortion. Painter and subject of the portrait, writer and subject of the autobiography, work with a purpose; they are not spontaneous. But tellers of tales in the family circle and a young officer of twenty-seven writing from cavalry camps are spontaneous. In preparing these remarks about my grandfather I have sought to run the types of sources together.

I am not concerned with Adams' part in the Civil War but with the Civil War's part in Adams. There would be little interest in a hurried sketch of his military career—when he joined, what he joined, what, in terms of campaign, battle, and skirmish, he did—but there is interest in what the Civil War did to a man who, in the half-century that followed his service, played no small part in the rough, tough America of the Gilded Age. Running this back has been an interesting experience. Until I underwent it I had taken my grandfather for granted. I had not wondered what made him tick.

From it all I draw two sharp impressions. The first is that of Adams' remarkable consistency, of the close resemblance between the young officer as shown in the letters he wrote from the South, without concern for self-depiction, and that same young officer as seen by his elder self, looking back across half a century. The second is that the war made Charles Francis Adams.

As his career unfolded, Adams' dominant characteristics showed themselves to be clarity of thought, devotion to public service, and an uncompromisingly direct vigor of speech and action. He was a true specimen of that breed which ran from John through John Quincy, Charles Francis—our Charles Francis' father—to the four brothers, John, Charles Francis, Henry, and Brooks. Of them it has neatly been said that "the Adamses have usually been right, and they have always been uncommonly unpleasant about it." Less neatly, one may add that they were all introspective, that they assumed that they were not liked, that they took it as read that they bore a heavy responsibility to this republic, that they wrote voluminously, and that when they wrote they were often under a compulsion to tip their pens with vitriol.

Those of you who have read Charles Francis Adams' autobiography, no matter how long ago you may have done so, must carry memories of his elegant stiletto work. Grandpa could turn a phrase. I give you a few, culled at random. Of his education, less famous than that of his brother Henry, he had these bits to offer: of the Boston Latin School, a local enthusiasm which he did not share:

> I was at the Latin School three years. . . . I loathed it. . . . Its methods were bad, its standards low, its rooms unspeakably gloomy.[1]

Of his 1856 Harvard class:

> It was as a class distinctly unnoticeable—a low average; and, in subsequent years, the chief distinction it achieved was contributing two inmates to the State's prison.[2]

Of Quincy and of Boston:

> I have never set foot on President's Hill since 1895, when I parted with the property. I never mean to again. The Quincy I knew has ceased to exist; and, with the present Quincy, I have neither ties nor sympathy. In fact, I never go there without, as I come away, drawing a breath of deep relief. When I enter it, I seem going into a tomb; when I leave it, getting back to Lincoln, it is a return to the sunlight and living air.
>
> As to Boston, as a place in which to live and have one's being, it is much the same. There, however, I passed my winters from '84 to '96, building and occupying the house at the corner of Gloucester Street and Commonwealth Avenue. As a place for social life, long before I parted with my house in 1896 the resources were exhausted.[3]

These are comments penned by a man of seventy-seven—but I have the impression, listening to those who knew him, that he was not then an *old* man. The standard of judgment and the manner of its rendition certainly had not crept up on him with the years. Witness this passage from a letter, still unpublished, written in March of 1862 on the subject of his commanding officer:

> He is a delightful companion for a small tea party, as he combines in great perfection with the ugliest temper God ever made, the vagaries of insanity and

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[1] *Charles Francis Adams, 1835–1915: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1916), p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

the pleasures of inebriation. In a word, he is ugly as the devil, crazy as a coot, and half the time, drunk as a lord.

Old crab, young crab: I have picked those out to make a point. Both Charles Francis Adams and his brother Henry were, shall we say, masters of the derogatory phrase. When they wrote, they used it, and when one reads, one remembers it. The result is to distort the impression of the kind of man each was. With Henry we are not concerned, so let that go. But here I would interpolate a comment made by mother à propos of some intellectual's animadversions on her father's pessimism. She said that no one had ever enjoyed life more: a lovely morning intoxicated him (what she said was "He loved a lovely day")—he had so many friends, drew so much from them and they from him. While he lived, and he lived to be almost eighty, he lived each moment to the full; but when we read what he wrote, we are likely to fall for the twisted phrase, the reverse English humor.

Adams did not always write in reverse English. When you wonder what he was and why he was, consider this, written to his brother Henry in January, 1863:

> I do wish you took a little more healthy view of life. You say "whether my present course of life is profitable or not I am very sure yours is not." Now, my dear fellow, speak for yourself. . . . As to me my present conviction is that my life is a good one for me to live. . . . I can tell you how I feel about myself, and I assure you that I have an instinct of growth since I entered the army. I feel within myself that I am more of a man and a better man than I ever was before, and I see in the behavior of those around me and in the faces of my friends, that I am a better fellow. I am nearer other men than I ever was before, and the contact makes me more human. . . . You may say that my mind is lying fallow all this time. Perhaps, but after all the body has other functions than to carry round the head, and a few years' quiet will hardly injure a mind warped, as I sometimes suspect mine was, in time past by the too constant and close inspection of print . . . to my surprise I find this rough, hard life, a life good to me in itself . . . at twenty-seven I have discovered that I never knew myself and that nature meant me for a Bohemian—a vagabond. I am growing and developing here daily, but in such strange directions.[4]

Here, in an unpremeditated letter to Henry—who often had his tiresome moments and had evidently had one just then—Adams summed up the essential point. The war made him.

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[4] *A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861–1865*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, 2 vols. (Boston, 1920), I, 237–238.

Consider for a moment his upbringing. Born to a bookish heritage, he had taken to it easily—more easily than his comments on the Latin School and his Harvard class might indicate. He had lived at home, or very close to it. Even when he went to Harvard he did not move fully into the college, for instead of living in the Yard he lived nearby with his brother John. Then came the law, which gave neither professional satisfaction nor social broadening. Reading between the lines, I think he was something of a prig. If nothing had come to break him out of it, he would probably have gone on to the innocuous life of the Boston trustee lawyer of his time, certainly no harm, equally certainly not much good, with perhaps some neatly learned essays on New England history to his credit. Never would he have got into the position which enabled Bill Nye to write of him as he did. This I found by accident, years ago, in Nye's famous paper, the Laramie, Wyoming, *Boomerang*:

> Reader, did you ever see a pile of buffalo bones by a water tank, and on the pile a pig, with his nozzle outthrust, catching the drops as they fell from the hose? Reader, didn't that pig remind you of Charles Francis Adams?

It was the cavalry officer that took the State Street lawyer into the fighting world of the railroads, that made him the foe—and the victim—of Jay Gould and the butt of Bill Nye. And a lot of other things. It was better than running investments.

Something of the cavalry officer shows up in the autobiography. More shows in the letters. The temptation, reading through the letters, has been to come here armed with a bale of quotations, for grandfather put things better than grandson can. But time passes.

Let me touch only a little on it all. Here Adams found, as he wrote to Henry, that his life had moved into a new dimension. You see him on Port Royal Island, making the rounds of his pickets, cantering down the never-ending avenues "with the heavy grey moss drooping from branches fresh with young leaves, while the natural hedges for miles along are fragrant with wild flowers . . . while hares and grey squirrels seem to start up under your horse's feet; wild pigeons and quail from every field, and duck and plover from every swamp."[5] Sheer love of the outdoors had always been in him; now it took full hold. It never let go.

But you see him doing other things. Driving slaves, for the slaves in the Union lines were slaves still in 1862. He was building a road. "I had ten slaves and drove by example. My horse was tied to a tree . . . while I, in heavy boots and spurs and my shirt sleeves, handled a spade by the side of my sable brethren."[6] And you see him on the long marches. Cavalry work was seldom done at a canter:

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[5] *Ibid.*, I, 126–127.

> Do you know how cavalry moves [writing to his mother in 1863]? It never goes out of a walk, and four miles an hour is *very* rapid marching. . . . You are a slave to your horses, you work like a dog yourself . . . and you see diseases creeping on . . . and you have two resources, one to send them to the reserve camps at the rear and so strip yourself of your command, and the other to force them on until they drop and then run for luck that you will be able to steal horses to . . . keep up the strength of your command. This last course is the one I adopt. I do my best for my horses and am sorry for them; but all war is cruel, and it is my business to bring every man I can into the presence of the enemy and so make war short. . . . The air of Virginia is literally burdened today with the stench of dead horses.[7]

Nor was his life an alternation of pleasant canters and laborious marches on dying horses. He saw much combat. Here is an incident of March, 1863:

> Pell-mell, without order, without lead, a mass of panic-stricken men, riderless horses and miserable cowards, our picket reserve came driving down the road upon us, in hopeless flight. Along they came, carrying helpless officers with them, throwing away arms and blankets, and in the distance we heard a few carbine shots and the unmistakable savage yell of the rebels.
>
> We drew our sabres and got in the way of the fugitives, shouting to them to turn into the woods and show a front to the enemy . . . most obeyed us stupidly and I rode into the woods to try and form a line of skirmishers. But that yell sprang up nearer, and in a twinkling my line vanished to the rear. Nor was this the worst. The panic seized my horse and he set his jaw like iron against the bit and dashed off after the rest. Oh! it was disgraceful! Worse than disgraceful, it was ludicrous!! My horse dashed through woods—thick woods—both feet were knocked out of the stirrups, I was banged against the trees, my hat was knocked over my eyes, I could not return my sabre, but I clung to the saddle like a monkey, expecting every instant to be knocked out of it and to begin my travels to Richmond . . . at last I got my horse under, and out of the woods into the road. . . .
>
> Something had to be done to rally the men. . . . I let my horse out. The fresh powerful animal shot by the poor worn out government brutes . . . and soon brought me out of the woods into a broad field. Here I turned and blocked

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[6] *Ibid.*, I, 125.

[7] *Ibid.*, II, 3–5.

> the road, and pulled and stormed and swore. . . . I caught a hapless cuss and cut him over the head with my sabre. It only lent a new horror and fresh speed to his flight. I whanged another over the face and he tarried for a while . . . and so I finally prevailed on about half my line to stop for this time.[8]

It all added up to a hard schooling. Adams had it about as rough as anyone, anyone who wasn't wounded or captured and sent to Andersonville. Malaria racked him. Fried pork, hard bread, and coffee, meal after meal, day after day, came close to corroding him. He did not take it uncomplainingly, for he was of the breed, but his complaints had no whine in them. He made a good officer. A most touching passage is his account of what happened in 1864, when his regiment's enlistments were up, and three-quarters of the men did not re-enlist. But in his company, three-quarters of the men did re-enlist. I will close with his comment on that, for it shows the difference, which lasted all his life, between what he thought other men thought of him and what they did think of him:

> I cannot express how gratified and yet how pained I am at this, as well as almost innumerable little evidences lately of the great confidence in, rather than attachment to me, of the men of my Company. They seem to think that I am the devil of a fellow. They come to me to decide their bets and to settle questions in discussion; they wish to know before they re-enlist if I am going to remain in the regiment. . . . To be egotistical, I think I see the old family traits cropping out in myself. These men don't care for me personally. . . . They feel no affection for me, but they do believe in me, they have faith in my . . . integrity.[9]

So it was to be all his life. Men believed in him; they had faith in his integrity. The thing that he couldn't admit, being so much an Adams, was that all his life men felt affection for him, too.

ELLIOTT PERKINS

## The Day of Mr. Charles Francis Adams

CHARLES Francis Adams, II, was born on Wednesday, May 27, 1835.

From her girlhood his next-to-oldest grandchild remembers him in the early morning, a bald-headed, square-set Roman about five feet eight or ten inches tall, togaed in a brown Jaeger dressing gown and moving along the upper hallway from the big bedroom where Mrs.

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[8] *Ibid.*, I, 256–258.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, 118–119.

Adams presumably still lay asleep to the equally spacious study, where he would write for an hour or two before breakfast. He wore a rather Gothic than Roman white mustache. He progressed with a slight, imposing roll from one side to the other at each step. His granddaughter remembers that in the study there were a great many stylographic pens; they were black when new and developed a progressively more apparent greenish tinge as they aged.

Mrs. Adams, whom we suppose still to be sleeping, was rather small and exquisite, exquisitely well-bred, gracefully intelligent, scrupulously and quietly effective. Mr. Adams may have judged her to be, perhaps as a defect of her virtues, overly self-abnegatory; and for this he at least once good-humoredly lampooned her, saying that Minnie—instead of giving the order to be met at the station, when by exception she was coming out on an afternoon train—would rather say, "Baker will be coming up from the station with a load of manure at that time and I can ride with him." She was effective even when she said—their oldest daughter's reminiscences—seemingly ineffectually at luncheon with her obstreperous brood, "Children, if you don't behave, I shall have to leave the table," or when she said to the maid, who, while the family were at table, came with the report, "Mrs. Adams, your desk is on fire," "Well, put it out." And earlier, in their Quincy house, one night a fire was promptly extinguished, when, learning of it in her boudoir, she filled a porcelain bowl with Eau de Cologne and, holding it ignited outside her window over the projecting roof below, cried "Fire! Fire! Fire!" As an example of maximum severity, her threat to leave the table accorded well with Mr. Adams' comment on being complimented because all his children always told the truth, "Why shouldn't they? They are never punished." One might rather say that Mr. Adams moved around in the foreground than that Mrs. Adams was in the background: hers was a pleasing and requisite ubiquity.

Mr. and Mrs. Adams' oldest daughter Molly was the mother of this oldest granddaughter and next-to-oldest grandchild. To Molly in her youth Papa had once said, "You, Molly, are a very remarkable girl." This she was to quote more than once in later years; and it might be thought to have set the tone for her ebullient and optimistic style, a style in which she herself was very much like Papa.

Grandpa and the telephone. . . . He had a great enthusiasm about the telephone but his voice made him absolutely unintelligible and it was rather difficult for him to understand on it and he would get very impatient. Once he called up to tell Ma that he and grandma had come home from some trip abroad. "Hello, Molly, we have come home." "Isn't that nice—I am delighted to hear it." "What did you say?" "I am delighted to hear it." "What? Don't talk as if you had a hot potato in your mouth"—and slam! went the receiver. He had rather a booming voice and it didn't transmit over the telephone. It wouldn't be a conversation. He would announce something.

Thus his granddaughter reports a telephone conversation which she had often heard her mother (his daughter Molly) tell about. The conversation and his daughter Molly's recitation of it reveal the conventions which the family accepted in the expression of affection. The incident was relished by Molly, who not only in ebullience and optimism but also in a certain brusqueness of delivery and in her sense of humor, too, was rather a chip off the old block.

By contrast, for Molly's younger sister (their second child Louisa) his humor was not a matter of identification. For her it was a lifelong and treasured object of amused and femininely tender reminiscence. As a very little girl at the seashore Louisa had once, when she overheard Papa talking about Tobias Rock, exclaimed (not having heard more than the name) "What do you want to buy us a rock for? Don't we have enough already?" Here, laid out cold, in its detail, the reminiscence seems merely inane and not more worth looking at than a dead clothes moth. Alluded to by her and so enlivened by the sympathetic charm of her own humor, it regained the animation of a butterfly, the fleeting magic of childhood nonsense.

Sometimes before breakfast he would go for a ride. It was in character for him that when he bought the place in Lincoln from the Burnhams he should have been reminded of the witches' prophecy and called it "Birnam Wood." And the name was well chosen, for though the Baker Farm of Thoreau's *Walden* was part of it, that farm was only a small set of open fields in an extensive woodland which stretched from Sherman's Bridge along the Sudbury River and Fairhaven Bay to Thoreau's Walden. Throughout this tract of woodland, which might really be called a forest, it had been his hobby to develop a network of wood roads and bridle paths, which provided the finest riding.

"He did a great amount of clearing in the woods"—his granddaughter remembers—"took out all the underbrush. When the gypsy caterpillars invaded the place in 1913, he undertook to spray the entire woods. It cost untold sums of money. There was nothing left in the woods but caterpillars hanging down in festoons on long strings—drip, click, drip, click, drip, click, of the falling of their droppings, like a dry rain—and the bits of leaves. That awful smell of green leaves rotting prematurely." To the stout central chimney of the old Baker farmhouse, now part of his property but still tenanted by Mr. James Baker, a member of the family which had built it, he had had affixed in handsome metal numerals the date "1740," commemorative of the year when it was presumably built (reputable antiquarians consider that 1680 or 1690 would be more nearly correct) and expressive of his own interests as an historian.

During the summer at The Glades, on the south shore of Massachusetts Bay, he would go to the bathing rocks for a swim before breakfast. One is reminded of his great-grandfather walking across the fields from the White House for his morning dip in the Potomac.

> Off to the bathing rocks with thermometer and float in his raincoat in the northeaster.
>
> I can see his raincoat flapping around those bare legs, white of course, because nobody got suntans in those days.
>
> Going off in a determined way with his bathtowel—I am almost certain the thermometer had one of those brown cork circles like a doughnut. He kept his thermometer hanging on one of those supports on the piazza.
>
> I doubt if he missed a day's swimming when he was at The Glades.

The bathing rocks to which he is going in this reminiscence of his granddaughter's were a distinctive feature of The Glades. Invisible from any habitation and extending out into the ocean toward Gull Ledge, they were rocks where the boys and men of The Glades could swim and sun themselves in the nude. Sea bathing and especially bathing in the nude were among Mr. Adams' most keenly enjoyed pleasures. There is a vaguely recollected account of his going out in a rowboat in front of a hotel where he and Mrs. Adams were guests and plunging overboard unclothed at what he judged to be a decent—and Mrs. Adams and the management judged not to be a decent—distance from their hotel.

He was a committed and himself a barometric amateur meteorologist, responding like the rest of nature to the seasons and measuring not only the temperature of the ocean in which he bathed in fair weather and foul but measuring and responding to the air in which he lived and to its dearth or burden of moisture. He had "a virile way of wallowing in gloom" and a ponderous delivery and would pace back and forth soliloquizing, groaning, rubbing his head, and larding his discourse with quotations. If it was June 22, "the sun had turned back on its tracks and the winter had begun." Every summer brought its drought, and every drought was a final calamity of unprecedented magnitude. If it was the autumnal equinox, "the melancholy days had come, the saddest of all the year," their doleful character emphasized by his declamatory groans. Mr. Baker had a rain gauge; and the amount of rain that fell was meticulously recorded. Barometer and thermometer were mounted on the piazza and regularly consulted. Each of these instruments contributed its dry, quantitative data to the turbulence of the changing seasons.

> In Lincoln Grandpa always had for breakfast [it is his granddaughter who is speaking]—they had real breakfasts—they always had a cold joint on the sideboard. I can see him at breakfast walking over and carving himself a ham or a cold shoulder. Tea always, never coffee.
>
> His hands were something like Ma's—rather thick, tapering fingers, no joints, oval fingernails—not expressive hands, not hands that were used to make things with. He had his own teaball, which he dunked up and down with a solemn rhythm. When it had reached the right color, he would put the ball in a little silver container.
>
> Big, deep cups—at teatime he always had his own large cup—and they had pink flowers on them and that Chinese Phoenix in colors

like the chintz on the walls of the gallery between the main hall and the dining room.

In the vestibule after breakfast their butler, Clark, would help Mr. Adams into his coat and carriage. Under a large oak table in the vestibule, always rather dark, there gleamed a small brass cannon. His grandchildren understood that it had served as a starting gun on a yacht of his. As children they have all eleven of them at one time or another delighted in playing with it, trundling it over the tiles on its noisy, wooden-wheeled, and massive carriage.

His granddaughter reflects that

> he stopped sailing a boat before I can remember. He was quite a keen yachtsman. That big compass I have was off his yacht—it seems to have been quite a big boat.
>
> Always had pictures of the yachts in Lincoln on the walls of the hallway up-

> stairs. He liked a big boat with a crew; and when that became impossible or not worthwhile for the short time, I think that is when he gave up yachting. He had no joy in sailing small boats for the joy of sailing. I don't believe Grandma cared for it too much.
>
> In the days when Grandpa yachted, the ladies put on dark veils to preserve their complexions. On Sunday afternoon they would go sailing. I am sure there was a professional crew mixed up with it.

Stepping from the dark vestibule into the morning light, he would, with Clark's unneeded help, climb into the carriage, to be driven to the Lincoln railroad station.

Mr. Adams and the family would be driven to and from the Lincoln railroad station in a carriage, not in the limousine. The limousine was an ark in which to be translated on state occasions. The granddaughter, as a sometimes somewhat bilious passenger, recalls it vividly:

> That crushed stone surface on the avenue would fly out under the tires as Weir jerked to a halt. He'd start with the wheels spinning and the crushed gravel would fly out. It was maroon red inside and out—I am pretty sure it was a Pierce Arrow—less flexible than a Packard—top-heavy, rocked and swayed like a coach and smelled strongly of gasoline. . . . Weir—he stopped the car the way he stopped the pair of horses: they would sit down on their haunches when he reached his destination. He had a great hand like a ham.

Weir was coachman and chauffeur.

At Baker's bridge, where near some of his workmen's cottages the railroad penetrated the fringes of his land a little up the line from the Lincoln railroad station, there had occurred a dreadful train wreck. It is said that the Reverend Endicott Peabody of Groton, very much farther up the line, had written to him urging that he take steps in this connection, and that he had given the rather gruesome reply that, as an advantage, such an accident deterred people from moving out of town and so infringing on the rusticity of Lincoln. No doubt he replied ironically, since, as we know, he had been very active in the promotion of better railroading and could hardly be expected to react to such a tragedy with benign acceptance. The reply is said not to have appealed to Dr. Peabody. After Molly, Louisa, and Elsie came the twins, Harry and Jack, who in time themselves were sent up the line to Groton School under Dr. Peabody. Sometime after their birth Mr. Adams was to say to his brother Henry's niece-by-affection, Mrs. J. D. Cameron, when she showed him her little daughter Martha (who was in time to be first wife of England's Ambassador to the United States, Sir Ronald Lindsay), "Well, since my wife had twins and my sister-in-law had triplets, I can't think much of the woman who can have them only one at a time." It spoke well for his affability and for Mrs. Cameron's humor that this characteristic broadside provoked laughter and not war.

From Lincoln the morning train carried him to the North Station in Boston; and thence he went to his offices in the India Building, at 84 State Street. Molly's husband, Grafton ("gloomy Grafton" as, in his ebullient optimism, he liked to call him) had been drawn into the orbit of Mr. Adams' financial activities, and so, too, when they had finished schooling, were the boys Harry and Jack. In later years Harry was more than once to speak admiringly of the Governor's—his term for his father—ebullient and commanding "Shuffle the cards and deal again" in the face of a financial debacle. Harry's reminiscences included an account of a boyhood bicycle trip with the Governor in France. It was apparently hard to keep pace with the Governor as a bicyclist on the military highways of Napoleon and difficult to adapt to his schedule of a morning's hour of writing followed by a prompt departure without regard for the sights which the boys might care to see. In his autobiography the Governor inveighed against his own father's obtuse detachment where he and Brooks and Henry and their sister Mary were concerned. But did he not with Harry and Jack repeat the same offense when they toured France, or when he asserted heartily, as was his wont at the end of each vacation, that he supposed they were delighted to be going back to school? To the boys he deputized the direction of his financial ventures in the West. There they worked; and there, in Kansas City, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Adams lived and reared their family for many years.

His granddaughter remembers him coming home from the office fairly early in the afternoon and in good time for a long ride. Her younger brother remembers him reining in his horse to talk with their mother while the horse maintained a restless foaming and chomping at the bit and pacing of the feet which kept the rider in vibration as though he were mounted on a Waring Blendor.

> My impression of riding with him, which I seldom did as a child [she has said], because the pony had to go at a gallop—I particularly remember riding with him through a snowstorm by Sandy Pond; Grandpa, hunched up on his

Charles Francis Adams, II, riding "Judge"

horse, looked rather like a turtle riding into the storm with the pony galloping along in his wake.

He seemed to be absorbed in his own thoughts—that was always my impression—that his eyes were turned inward when he rode. He rode in fair weather or foul.

As he grew older, he stopped going to the office so regularly and gave more of his time to writing. Mr. Ford[1] came out and helped him for research. Mr. Ford was always sort of an enigmatic being to me.

Sometimes, perhaps on week ends, he and Mrs. Adams would go for a walk together in the woods. Her preparations were always deliberately made; and a regular prelude to these walks was his mounting impatience while, in his words, Minnie was drawing on her boots. Or if it were summer at The Glades, he would go for his invariable swim. In Lincoln he would return from his ride in time for tea at five o'clock. To a small grandson of five or six playing with his toy soldiers on the hearth rug before the open fire, the old man's presence meant a pair of legs pacing to and fro, a cup and saucer seen from the underside, and above them a voice in sonorous soliloquy, until there descended on the army tent a foot so huge as not merely to crush but completely to cover and conceal the tent and all the military personnel within. "Grandpa! Get off my tent!" Silence. Then a woman's voice exclaiming, "You mustn't speak to your Grandfather in that way, John," and, simultaneously, a giant's face bending down from above the cup and saucer to rumble words of solicitous apology. And then resumption by the towering legs of their rhythmical pacing and by the Olympian voice of its sonorous monologue, with a fringe of feminine interjections and brief antiphonies. After tea Mr. Adams would disappear into the study upstairs, there to continue with his writing until it was time to dress for dinner.

With the approach of dinner came a younger grandchild's bedtime. Now the grandchild's impressions of the grown-up world become vague and fade away into the remote splendors of evening dress, candlelight, and the translucent glow of pink and orange shades on kerosene lamps lit for the superior light which they would give to read by when the after-dinner coffee should be finished and the after-dinner conversation should have muted to a close. To a younger grandchild this part of the day is known only by the scant reports of older people. For instance, there is the older daughter's superficially irreverent judgment that while Papa insisted on general conversation at the dinner table "Papa's idea of general conversation is, that he holds the floor and does all the talking." But what he had to say was undoubtedly worth hearing and humorous, too, for his granddaughter remembers being reduced to tears of laughter.

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[1] Worthington C. Ford, Editor of Publications, 1909–1929, of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

"Grandpa was extremely fond of green corn . . . he always produced his pocket knife, which he would open, and split the kernels down the middle. I can see him drawing it down the kernels in the cellar at The Glades"—and here his granddaughter is speaking not of dinner in the Lincoln dining room, with its landscapes painted in oil by an artist of the Barbizon School, each expanse of countryside glowing in the brightness of its own individual and shaded light attached to the elaborate and gilded frame, but of dinner in the cellar-like dining room at The Glades, where the family were regularly summering when native corn was in season. For what Mrs. Adams served in ungarnished purity and called "chicken" he seems to have felt less favor than for corn, calling it, himself, "boiled hen."

And there are reports of after-dinner sessions on the western piazza at The Glades, when Mr. Adams, Mr. Lovering, and Mr. Saltonstall would discuss the baffling murder of Mr. and Mrs. Borden in Fall River. No subsequent murder was ever to achieve such dignity and significance, no heroic couplets were ever to excel the classical purity of those lines stating the relevent hypothesis that

Lizzie Borden took an axe
To give her mother forty whacks.
And, when she saw what she had done,
Gave her father forty-one.

Or we may hear of Mr. and Mrs. Adams on one of their rare evenings at the theater where, in reaction to the sub-Shakespearean mediocrities paraded on the stage, Mr. Adams rubs his bald head vigorously and despairingly and mutters in stentorian undertones "Dismal, dismal," unchecked by Mrs. Adams' agonizingly whispered "Charles! Charles!" As a member of an audience, Mr. Adams tended to be rather self-absorbed. His granddaughter remembers "going to hear Teddy Roosevelt speak at Symphony Hall. Grandpa sat on the stage as one of the V.I.P.'s. T. R. spoke very badly, and grandpa started rubbing his head—a sign that he was bored—and finally fell asleep."

Here, in Symphony Hall, he entered on the pleasurable and profitable activity of sleeping as, to Mrs. Adams' amusement and distress, he was wont to do when bored after dinner. His youngest daughter Elsie said that in any case he always had a poor opinion of Teddy Roosevelt.

And in March, after a dinner served early for the occasion, he would go to Town Meeting. "Grandpa had a strong conviction that a man should discharge his civic duties; and he delighted to speak at Town Meeting—which he did with his customary force and frankness. I remember that Helen Warren told me the children always loved to attend—'it was such fun when Mr. Adams spoke.'" To this granddaughter's reminiscence Mrs. Henry Warner adds reminiscences from an earlier time, when Lincoln Town Meeting was still held in the afternoon and not in the evening and ended in time for the farmers to get home for the milking. In those earlier days, when Mrs. Warner must have been a very young married woman, considerably her husband's and Mr. Adams' junior, Mr. Adams and Mr. Moorfield Storey would come out from town for lunch at the Warners' house before Town Meeting. A slight and vigorous widow of advanced years, sitting in the sun on a stone wall by the roadside to watch the Patriots' Day parade of April 19, 1960, go from the Common to the North Bridge in Concord, she refreshed a listener's memories of a scene that she had described to him before. From her description one can imagine the dialogue.

> "Mrs. Warner, what is that in your hand?"
>
> "It's a posset, Mr. Adams."
>
> "Why do you carry a posset?"
>
> "Well, when you sit in the balcony at Town Meeting, the farm-smells, as the afternoon wears on, become very strong."
>
> "Then why do you sit in the balcony?"
>
> "The women are expected to."
>
> "Mrs. Warner, you sit in a corner on the floor and I will see that it is all right."

So Mrs. Warner enlisted the alliance of her friend, Mrs. Blodget, Dr. Blodget's wife; and the two ladies, giving one another courage, sat in a corner on the floor.

Your grandfather was very fond of riding—such was the gist of what she went on to say—I remember how Eleanor Smith—the Smiths were living in the Pierce house then—the red one on the hill in the village (it was a red brick house built in 1800)—she was looking out the window and saw Mr. Adams riding along the road with Mrs. Adams following—and said to her father, "There is Mr. Adams. Is that Eve?" Perhaps Mrs. Warner would have told her listener more; but at that point his responsibilities for a small boy of seven years obliged him to move down the road with the parade. The boy of seven was intent on keeping pace with a World War II tank slowly juggernauting along behind a company of men in the military uniforms of 1775.

They were not a game-playing family; and his granddaughter was undoubtedly right in saying, "I don't think Grandpa ever played dominoes or chess or checkers or any of those games." Thus in Lincoln, when there were no special events, the usual occupation after dinner was not games but silent, rather serious reading in the glow of pink and orange shades on kerosene lamps which, long after the introduction of electricity, were retained for the superior light that they would give to read by.

The brothers John, Charles, Henry, and Brooks were apt to make those caustic comments about one another and their sister Mary which are so often the superficialities, the safety valve-escapes of a powerfully working, fundamental loyalty. But spontaneously obedient to the injunction "De mortuis nil nisi bonum," they spoke of their sister Louisa—and Henry eloquently so—only with affection. Once as a small boy Harry puzzled his mother by saying that Uncle Possum had been to the house while she was out. It was not Uncle Possum but his uncle, Mr. Kuhn, Louisa's bereaved husband, of whom he spoke. But since Brooks was vigorously alive, his granddaughter could, with fidelity to appearances, say of Mr. Adams that "he regarded 'my brother Brooks' as rather a ridiculous idea." "My brother Brooks has discovered the horse" or "my brother Brooks has discovered" something else equally obvious were favorite locutions of Charles's as his superficial reactions to Brooks's intellectual subtlety. When their sister Mary went into hysterics over the financial panic of 1893, the four brothers had no patience with behavior so far *infra dignitatem*; and when Brooks espoused the cause of free silver, Charles and Henry declared it, with restraint, to be downright embarrassing.

His granddaughter has said, "Grandpa was a very dominant character, much more so than his brothers, I think. Grandpa was full of virility and *élan* and optimism. He was always sure everything was coming out right. He liked to think and live in a big way."

Looking out through his living room window late one winter afternoon in Washington, D. C., Henry exclaimed, "There goes that damned fool riding in a snowstorm. He'll get pneumonia," already having a cold. The equestrian was of course Henry's near-octogenarian brother Charles. Charles—that is, Mr. Adams—and Mrs. Adams, with their unmarried daughter Elsie, regularly wintered in Washington. Elsie was the third of their five children. As the youngest daughter she had perhaps felt less sure than the others of her father's awareness and regard. Perhaps one can indicate something of her vivacity, her loyalty, and her other virtues by saying figuratively that she had been carved from the finest ivory. Brooks and Henry are widely known for their accounts of human nature in its collective, historical manifestations. Their brother Charles should be more generally credited with his formulation of what to a few is known as Adams' Law, a fundamental principle of individual psychology, the principle that if a mistake can be made, someone will make it. Alas, it is said that Henry was right in concern about pneumonia and that the pneumonia of which he died was contracted on this or on another such darkling winter ride. But on second thought it is wrong to place among the mistakes due to vulgar carelessness or stupidity that winter ride which was the expression of a vigorous spirit in a vigorous but inevitably aging frame.

Mr. Adams died on Saturday, March 20, 1915; and the day of his life ended in the tenth month of his seventy-ninth year.

The windows of the study where Mr. Adams wrote in Lincoln faced west and south. As you entered, you looked through the western windows to that widening of the waters of the Sudbury River where they form what is known as Fairhaven Bay and to the low, somewhat monotonous hills beyond.

In the center of the study reposed two broad desks, back to back, so that their occupants would face one another as they sat at work. At these desks Mrs. Adams' chair stood with its back to the fireplace in the southern wall to your left. Over the fireplace toward which his chair faced hung a portrait of Mr. Adams in the crimson robes of an honorary doctorate. From the top of the bookshelves behind Mr. Adams' chair stared the life-sized bust in bronze, brought back from a visit to Pompeii, of an unknown citizen of ancient Rome, no doubt a businessman, rendered in vigorous and unsparing detail even to the mole on the bald scalp of his pyknic head. Beyond the bookcase rose a tall desk at which you could stand to write. On this desk stood a large portrait of Senator Hoar and beside it, in a black frame, a political broadside in which John Quincy Adams, brandishing a huge bull whip, menaced a veteran of the Revolution. On the desk, as paper weights, reposed the cube of white Pentelic marble incised with ATHENS 1898 and the fist-sized blue stone scarab with EGYPT 1890 cut into its under surface, souvenirs of Mediterranean travels. There too rested the stamp box from which Mrs. Adams, then long a widow, was to take a gold sovereign for one of her grandsons who was going, college boy-wise, to work his way to Europe. These are a few among the voices of silence which filled the room.

Finally, low down on your left in the bookcase between the western windows, marched, year on year, the successive volumes of that diary which Mr. Adams had kept like the other men of his family. In the volume for 1902, if you opened it to July 9, you would find the entry, "A son was born to Molly and Grafton today." It is by right of this genetic privilege that I have been reading to you this afternoon these and some of his oldest granddaughter's (my sister Mary's) reminiscences.

JOHN A. ABBOTT, M.D.

## A Word Worth the Remembering

Some old Elizabethan play or poem contains the lines,

> What will be left when you are dead?
> Only a word, if you have said
> A word worth the remembering.

The question is trite enough. Man has been asking it for a long time, and returning a variety of answers, none of them satisfactory to most of his descendants. In the cave of Lascaux in France there is a picture, painted perhaps 20,000 years ago, of what appears to be a dead man. Beside him is a curious bird-like symbol. This symbol may be the oldest recorded answer to the old question. It suits our contemporary purposes not much worse and not much better than the Elizabethan.

For the proliferation of words by mechanical means has made words very cheap. Prose is the modern currency. The word worth remembering is as rare as the five-dollar gold piece. It is found in collections and old purses, in anthologies and books of quotations, but the scum of newsprint floating on the full tide of bilge from radio and television has driven it out of circulation. And yet the poetic utterance remains the standard. Words are as dead as their creators unless they are found where breath most lives, even in the mouths of men.

So I propose to measure C. F. Adams by this severe standard. I do so with reluctance, for one would wish to think well of one's ancestors. But no doubt one's ancestors would like to reciprocate, and how can they if one is not honest? It is a hard task; not a perfectly agreeable task. I barely remember my grandfather, but the few recollections I have are pleasant: a great man on a great horse, wonderfully scared by a child's hollowed-out pumpkin with a candle inside; painted bicycles for my older brother and sister, and a beautiful cart for me; a mustache like a gooseberry bush, and a rough, strong voice, withal pleasant, like the roar of a northwester in pine trees.

And now I must look behind these memories, and the awe in which he obviously was held by many who knew him and whom I knew, and find out what he has to say to me. I must run through a dozen books, which are pleasant to hold and to look at, well printed, with good type, with good paper, and well bound in solid workmanlike cloth and boards. And I must consider hundreds of addresses and occasional papers equally well printed, but unbound. And I must find out why none of these is available to me and my contemporaries in cheap paperbacks and whether they ought to be.

A writer neglected by one age may speak with a strong voice to another. Eclipse is not extinction, and he who sets himself up to judge what does not amuse him may prove himself a fool. So with this comment I will pass over Adams' first major literary work, his life of Dana.[1] It is in two volumes, of the "definitive" sort, and really a long series of excerpts from diaries and letters strung together with a narrator's commentary.

There is another major work, well-known to many members of this society, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*.[2] It, too, is "definitive," though not in quite the awesome manner of the Dana. It contains perhaps the best town history that ever has been written or is ever likely to be written. As Mr. W. G. Constable, the art critic, said to me, standing before a fine portrait of a handsome man in handsome armor, "A very good thing, a very good thing indeed of its kind—if you like the kind." And there are plenty who do, and doubtless plenty more who will. With minor reservations, I am one who does.

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[1] *Richard Henry Dana: A Biography* (Boston, 1890).

[2] 2 vols. (Boston, 1892).

Adams made himself complete master of the known facts concerning certain phases of the earliest settlements in New England. A study of Thomas Morton and his Merrymount on Quincy Bay led naturally back to Plymouth and the Bradford manuscript. The topography of the Bay shore and much of the "Old Colony" had been his familiar walk since childhood. With care, and sometimes with feeling, he describes it. He was one historian who understood the meaning of place. There is a taste of the bitter savory salt wind in *Three Episodes*, a light known only to those low hills above salt marshes edging the eastward sea. He knew the hard feel of winter; the tropic license of New England summer, where the cat brier, the alder, and the swamp maple shoot grow with the abandon of the Amazon rain forest. It helped him understand his characters.

But the help was not enough. I do not think he ever understood any character, least of all his own, in the sense of viewing it objectively. He had opinions, which seem all to be violent reflections of himself. He refers to the settlers of Plymouth as a "stolid unimaginative race." My own reading of Bradford and Winslow leads me to doubt this statement. He says of the Indian Squanto, "He gave the usual glowing account which exiled savages are wont to give of their native places." Perhaps he did. But how does the account of a savage differ from the account of a civilized man who also eats the bitter bread of banishment? And what constitutes a savage anyway?

On these two books, and perhaps to a lesser extent his sketch biography of his father[3] for the American Statesmen series, his reputation as a writer largely rested at the time of his death. It seemed a sound, though not a large foundation. I doubt if anyone will be much interested in the Dana hereafter. But I think *Three Episodes* will hold its place. It is a good narrative, with all the characters in perspective and moving freely. The style is direct, comparatively free of mannerisms.

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[3] *Charles Francis Adams, by his Son* (Boston, 1900).

If I see too little of reality in the characterizations, too much of the author, it is a fault common to many good writers, like Dickens or Hemingway. We cannot all be Shakespeare.

He projected, for some twenty years, a full-length biography of his father, which was to have been his *magnum opus,* in fact a complete diplomatic history of the Civil War. He was insatiable in gathering materials, and he had the commendable fault, as is shown in countless minor studies, of insisting on trying to learn all there was to know of the subject in hand. What are now known as researchers were constantly in his pay. A speech to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Town of Lincoln turned into a 138-page book[4] and has been the source of quite a fountain of speeches and so-called historical sketches since. I saw it quoted just the other day in the *Concord Journal,* verbatim, at length, and without quotation marks.

Needless to say he never finished the great work. Really, he had hardly begun when he died. And yet he constantly expected to write it. All his life he treated himself as if he were immortal. He dissipated his forces as only the gods dare do. He knew it. Of himself he wrote, "I have continually attempted too much—always had too many irons in the fire." And yet he went right on shoving in irons. Unable to resist each occasional demand, he produced twelve thick bound volumes of newspaper writing, special papers, and addresses. I think if he had lived to this day the diplomatic history would still be to write.

The immediate interested him too intensely. The 1870's, when he began seriously to write, were not years to make honest men stand up and cheer. The land was burdened with Philistines and any David was bound to start slinging rocks. C. F. Adams started and found it such fun that he never gave over the habit. He soon laid aside the slingshot and started practicing with an elephant gun. All his life he kept it loaded beside him. Let a mouse so much as stir in the arras and he would blast it. Thus he spent a good deal of powder and broke a good deal of glass. But he put no satellites into orbit and sent no rockets to the moon.

Nevertheless, it is among these lesser works that I have searched, and I believe found, the word worth the remembering. I think it is usual for the fresh path of one generation to become the worn highway of the next. The genius of the pioneer who chose the right direction and plugged through the wilderness along the water level route is not readily apparent. Because he was right and because so many have followed him he is forgotten. The road has lost all interest. But time may show that the pioneer's method has not.

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[4] *A Milestone Planted: Address of Charles Francis Adams at Lincoln, Massachusetts, April 23, 1904, on the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town* (n.p., n.d.).

Just now bunking is in fashion. American history is once more great and glorious; even George III comes in for a word of praise. The era of railroad expansion is remembered as a glowing romance. Jim Fisk is a delightful scalawag. But times may change. Some historian of the future, contemplating the ruins of New York or Boston from the twisted skeleton of an insurance building, may recall to mind *A Chapter of Erie*.[5] I believe this to be a fine study, perhaps as good a study as has been made, of moral disintegration in the heart of a great nation. The nation recovered and the reformer has been forgotten. A healthy patient may be permitted this lapse of memory. Only future illness is likely to recall the work of the old anatomist.

I believe that work to be admirable. *A Chapter of Erie* exposes in clear and forceful English the extraordinarily complex machinations of Gould, Fisk, their allies, and their enemies in and about the Erie Railroad. The mass of facts assimilated must have been huge. Financial statistics and transportation systems are seldom fun to read about. This long article, that first appeared in the *North American Review* in 1869, is exciting, it is fun to read. It is a good detective story, and it is as moral as *The Pilgrim's Progress*. A fine tribute to its quality was offered in 1890 when Jay Gould, a wounded tiger in the financial jungle, pulled down after twenty years of vengeful waiting the author of *A Chapter of Erie* from his position as president of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Adams was best in active life, handling live problems with force and character and intelligence, of all which he had great store. So in his writing I think he appears best when tackling a subject head on. Besides his *A Chapter of Erie* he wrote several volumes dealing with railroad problems. My favorite is *Notes on Railroad Accidents*.[6] He reports what happened in a very high journalistic style, and makes excellent recommendations, most of which came after into general use. His clear thinking and straightforward writing were one of the most powerful influences which shaped this country's railroad system. They were also responsible for a result as diverse as the preservation of the Blue Hills as a park. With facts at his command and opposition to stimulate him he could do first-rate work.

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[5] (Boston, 1869).

[6] (New York, 1879).

His fault seems to me a lack of the critical faculty. He was indiscriminate in the objects of his attention, throwing away too much talent on too trivial matters. And that may be at the root of certain defects of style which trouble me. As he wrote more and more he grew more diffuse. His ear does not seem to have warned him. And yet he loved Shakespeare and could appreciate good writing, as I shall presently show. I have been told that music disturbed him. I should think that might be so. There is very little music in his prose.

The use of the double negative became a vice. Why say, when you mean "difficult," "not unattended with difficulty," or "it is not unsafe to say there is as yet no historical work" when you mean, "the historical work is yet to be written"?

He loved long, involved sentences, full of qualifying clauses, which would do credit to some of our modern theologians or even sociologists. I quote at random, "The traditions of political economy, to the contrary notwithstanding, there are functions of modern life, the number of which is continually increasing, which necessarily partake in their essence of the character of monopolies." I think this sort of thing is what Henry Adams had in mind when he wrote the comment in the margin of a manuscript of Brooks Adams, "Now you remind me of my brother Charles."

Nevertheless, he had the makings of a good writer. His biography is full of excellent flashes. A description of his grandfather: "A very old looking gentleman, with a bald head and a white fringe of hair—writing, writing—with a perpetual ink stain on the fore-finger and thumb of the right hand." Or this: "in the course of my life I have tried Boston socially on all sides. I have summered it and wintered it; tried it drunk and tried it sober; and, drunk or sober, there is nothing in it—save Boston."

Thus, capable of good things, he was yet deficient in taste. The Quincy of his childhood was merely a town of "streets lined with wooden houses, wholly innocent of any attempt at architecture." Other than Hawthorne, Poe, and Webster there were no American writers who had a sense of form. This he wrote in 1900 when he had been living seven years on ground which had been a favorite walk of Thoreau. The book which only last week was the subject of a momentous decision[7] of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts was to him either unknown or unrecognized. He criticized all American literature as "a record of dissipation and quantity rather than one of quality and concentration." Was he guiltless who thus cast a stone?

This man was not blind, but he wore blinders. With his eyes fixed on the road in front of him, with his shoulders pressed into harness, he strained through life. And one day in his seventy-second year he stood before an audience of all Southerners in Lexington, Virginia, on the platform of the College Chapel of Washington and Lee University, with Lee's tomb, and recumbent image upon it, directly behind him. In this place and to this audience he said, "the charge still most commonly made against Lee . . . is that, in plain language, he was false to his flag . . . he was a military traitor. I state the charge in the tersest language possible; and the facts are as stated."

I imagine the building rocked then. I wonder it did not fall down. The Southerners have always been a bit hotheaded and I wonder they did not lynch him on the spot. But they let him go on, and I can imagine the sigh of escaping breath when he presently said, "under similar conditions I would myself have done exactly what Lee did."

I will not attempt to review this address. I can recommend it to all who have yet to read it. It is called *Lee's Centennial*.[8] It is dramatic. It is powerful. It is in good taste. It gives a thoughtful base for the pedestal on which Lee has since been placed, at a time when Northern editors were still reviling his name. It is balm in the wound of the Confederacy. With great feeling and a fine sense of drama it describes the supreme moment of Lee's life, when he had the fate of the whole nation in his hand, whether he should surrender his army and destroy the Confederacy, or keep the Confederacy alive and perhaps prolong the war for many years and generations of bitterness, as occurred later in Boer South Africa.

Adams said, using his own words and quoting freely from others, "His work was done; but from failure he plucked triumph. Thenceforth Lee wore defeat as 't were a laurel crown. A few days later a small group of horsemen appeared in the morning hours on the further side of the Richmond pontoons across the James. By some strange intuition it became known that General Lee was of the party; and, silent and uncovered, a crowd—Virginians all—gathered along the route the horsemen would take. 'There was no excitement, no hurrahing; but as the great chief passed, a deep, loving murmur, greater than these, rose from the very hearts of the crowd. Taking off his hat, and simply bowing his head, the man great in adversity passed silently to his own door; it closed upon him; and his people had seen him for the last time in his battle harness.'"

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[7] See the *Boston Herald,* May 4, 1960, p. 14.

[8] (Boston, 1907).

From start to finish *Lee's Centennial* is a fine piece of work. I am inclined to think, by its dramatic quality and by the drama of its place and time of delivery, and the greatness of its subject, it is the best piece of writing Adams ever did. It may be the word worth the remembering. It is not for us to judge. If a later generation, perhaps as long in time as we now are from him, reads him at all, what I have now said may be proved to have validity.

I shall close with a few words by an acknowledged master, his brother Henry. When Charles died, Henry wrote an inscription for his gravestone. As far as I know it has never been reproduced anywhere. It is much too good to let wear out of existence, as even Quincy granite must wear out at last, exposed to the Quincy climate.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
BORN IN BOSTON MAY 27, 1835
DIED IN WASHINGTON MARCH 20, 1915

KNOWN TO HIS TIME IN MANY PATHS
SOLDIER CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATOR HISTORIAN
HIS CHARACTER COURAGE AND ABILITIES
WERE DOUBTED IN NONE
AFTER EIGHTY YEARS OF ACTIVE LIFE
IN A RESTLESS AND OFTEN A TROUBLED AGE
HE LEFT TO HIS DESCENDANTS AN HONORABLE NAME
WORTHY OF THOSE WHICH HAD BEFORE HIM
SHONE IN THE ANNALS OF THE STATE

THOMAS B. ADAMS

# The Published Writings of Charles Francis Adams, II (1835-1915):

## An Annotated Checklist

### Mrs. Wendell Garrett

### Introductory Note by L. H. Butterfield

The second Charles Francis Adams remembered his grandfather at Quincy as "a very old-looking gentleman . . . with a perpetual inkstain on the fore-finger and thumb of the right hand." Few men can have written as much as John Quincy Adams did, but one of his rivals was his grandson Charles Francis, who broke into print at an earlier age, lived almost as long, and displayed the same unflagging energy at his writing desk and elsewhere.

The publication in these pages of three lively "Views" of this grandson by three of *his* grandsons offered an opportunity to assemble and print a compact record of Charles Francis Adams' numerous and widely scattered writings. Mrs. Wendell Garrett, of the Boston Athenæum, has carried out this task in the well-justified hope that the record will prove useful to students of Adams' career and times.

By the second Charles Francis' time it was pretty well agreed between the Adams family and the American public that the Adamses' days of political leadership were past and not to be revived. Unlike his brother Henry, Charles suffered little frustration on this account. After nearly four years in the Union Army he "fixed on the railroad system as the most developing force and largest field of the day," studied, wrote, and made himself an unrivaled authority on it, and during the rest of his life was an active and for the most part highly successful businessman. His interests stretched from New England to the Kansas City Stockyards, the Union Pacific Railroad, and the development of electric power in the northwestern states. And yet he was never quite so happy as when he was writing in his study in Quincy or Boston or Lincoln or Washington. "I love literary work for its own sake," he wrote in 1889. "I like to sit among my books in the sunlight of my library, and investigate and write of the past. Here only have I got pleasure heretofore; here only shall I find it hereafter."

The results of his industry with his pen as listed by Mrs. Garrett run to nearly 450 publications, not including some hundreds of newspaper articles and letters to the press on almost every imaginable topic, from the acting of Shakespeare to American atrocities in the Philippines. Brooks Adams, who disagreed with his brother Charles on many subjects, remarked to their brother Henry in 1899 that "Charles makes a speech, or writes a letter to the papers every day." During some periods this seems to have been literally true. Charles Francis, it must be admitted, wrote and published *too much*. Printing was relatively cheap, and his means allowed him to print, revise, and reprint his public addresses, his communications to learned societies whether what he had to say was significant or not, and his pronouncements of all sorts, to the point of plethora.

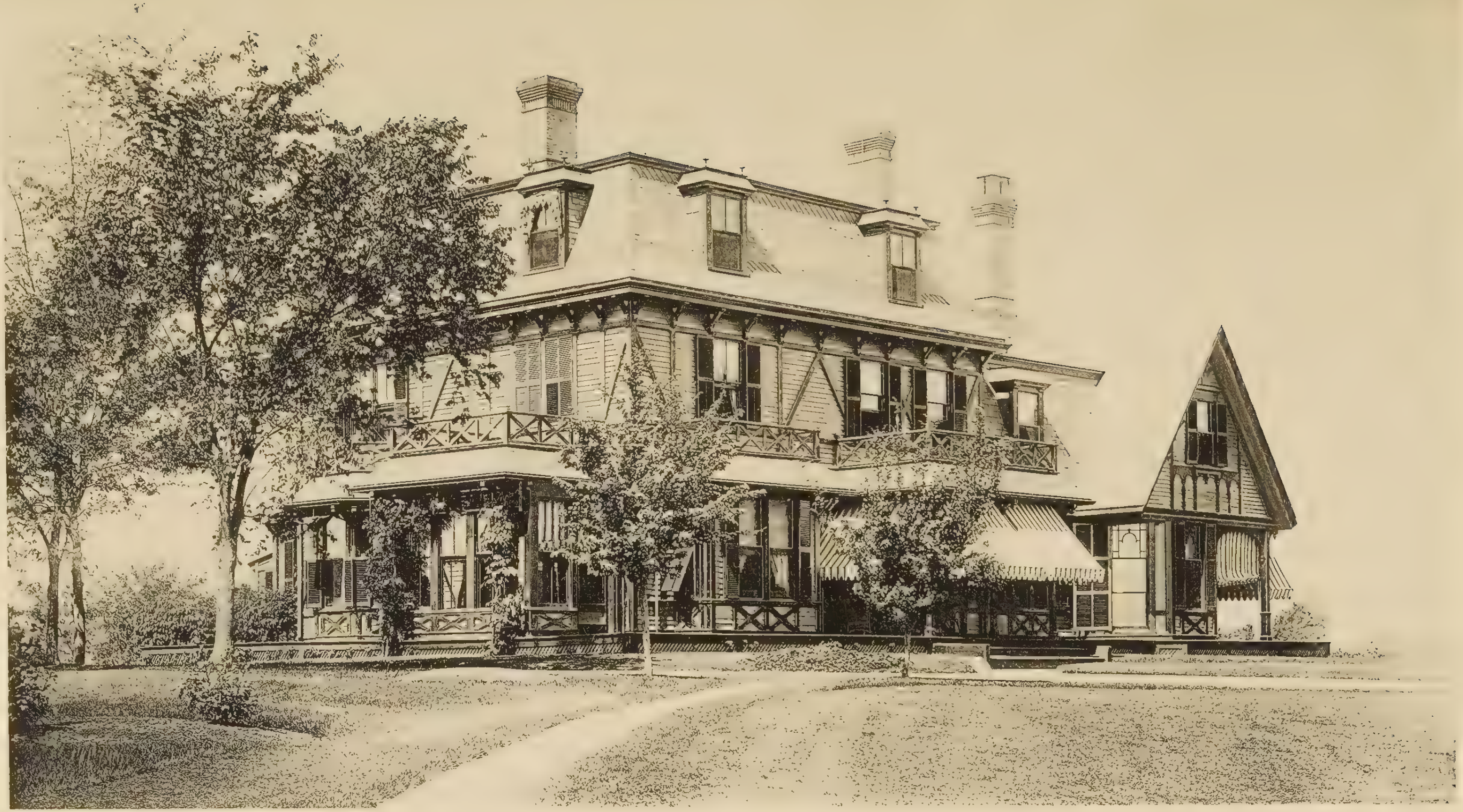
But bulk is only the most conspicuous, not the most important thing about Adams' literary output. It had impact. Upon the appearance of the fourth *Annual Report* of the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners in 1873, Octave Chanute wrote Adams that it had been republished at once in the *Chicago Tribune*, "and an edition of some 10,000 copies is being reprinted . . . for distribution among the Railway men and legislators" in the western states. Adams' reports on the Quincy school system, and most notably his pamphlet on *The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy* (1879), had the same kind of impact both locally and nationally, leading directly, as James Bryant Conant has recently pointed out, to decent standards of pedagogy in the public schools. These are merely samples of how Adams coupled effective thinking and writing in the field of civic reform.

In historical writing he aimed and, as Mr. Thomas Boylston Adams has shown, sometimes rose higher. Americans during the last century had an insatiable appetite for commemorative oratory, and as a prominent member of the Boston community Adams was called upon to compose and deliver at least his share of historical addresses. One that he delivered at Weymouth on the Fourth of July in 1874 had a more lasting effect on him, it is safe to say, than on his audience, for it led him, over the years, to explore exhaustively the forgotten beginnings of European settlement on the shores and islands of Boston Harbor before the founding of Boston in 1630. These studies resulted eventually in a score or more of articles, monographs, and documentary publications relating primarily to his native ground—old Braintree, Quincy, and the South Shore generally. Of these his chief work, and his monument as an historian, is *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, published in two volumes in 1892. The third and longest "episode," dealing with Braintree and Quincy from 1640 to 1890 and entitled "A Study of Town and Church Government," has been pronounced by Mr. Van Wyck Brooks "by all odds, the finest history of an American town that has ever been written." Adams' good friend the historian James Ford Rhodes once said that "the routine of work and the round of pleasures of the majority" were "blank pages of history which, if written over, could indeed be tiresome." In *Three Episodes* Adams proceeded on the opposite assumption—that how the majority lived and thought in the framework of local institutions is precisely what we need to know if we are to understand how we came to be what we are. He proved that a painstaking reconstruction of a single community, standing of course for many, could be exciting as well as enlightening; and—although this was incidental to his main purpose—he showed how such a man as John Adams could rise from the soil of rural New England in the eighteenth century.

Among every thousand readers of Henry Adams' *Education* only a handful have read his brother Charles's *Autobiography*. This is a pity because the *Autobiography* is as blunt as the *Education* contrived. It is also perhaps the best critical commentary on America's Gilded Age written by anyone who played a large part in it. Charles Francis Adams is reported as having said—and it would have been in character—that he wrote up his own life because he "did not want the awkward squad firing over his grave." For whatever reasons, his grave has been little troubled. This Checklist of his published writings is therefore all the more welcome. Arranged chronologically but with a finding list by title, embracing much that is difficult if not impossible to find by consulting library catalogues, and furnished with illuminating notes from Adams' own manuscripts, it will prove in some respects more useful than a biography, and it will remain a valuable adjunct to the biographies and studies of Adams that are not yet written but surely will be.

## Note on Method

From the start it was apparent that an exhaustive listing was impractical. The following types of material have therefore been omitted: minor book reviews; newspaper articles (published not only in Boston and Quincy newspapers but in many others scattered from New York to Kansas City); letters to editors of newspapers and periodicals; tributes and obituaries (published largely in the *Proceedings* of



From a negative in the Society for the Preservation
of New England Antiquities

The Home of Charles Francis Adams, II, in Quincy

Built in 1870–1871, demolished in 1932

the Massachusetts Historical Society); informal remarks before the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society; prefatory notes signed by the Committee of Publication in various Massachusetts Historical Society publications; and reprints of extracts from the writings of Charles Francis Adams, II (hereafter designated as CFA2).

The bibliography is arranged chronologically, with the titles under each year in alphabetical sequence. In a few cases, such as contributions to the M. H. S. *Proceedings* and reports of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, the entry is placed under the year concerned rather than under the publication date. In order to consolidate entries, the various editions and reprintings of a single work are entered under the original edition with cross-references from later issues. If, however, CFA2 changed the title in a later printing, a separate entry is made and an accompanying note explains the relationship with the previous printing. Titles for untitled articles have been supplied in brackets; in the case of M. H. S. *Proceedings* many supplied titles are taken from running heads and tables of contents. Posthumous reprintings have not been included. Offprints and separates are recorded except in the case of simple tear sheets, which have been noted only if the sources from which they were taken have not been identified. A short-title index has been placed at the end to facilitate use of the Checklist. In general, the style of annotation used is that of the Adams Papers.

Compilation has been aided by CFA2's own orderly habits. He assembled and preserved a large number of his major published articles in eleven bound volumes labeled "Miscellanies" (now divided between the Adams National Historic Site in Quincy, Massachusetts, and the Massachusetts Historical Society) and in various Scrapbooks (now at the Adams National Historic Site). The contents of the Miscellanies are in chronological order; an arbitrary numbering has here been given to the Scrapbooks. There are occasional items listed which outwardly appear to have no relationship to CFA2's pen except for their presence in his Miscellanies and Scrapbooks—ordinarily a sure indication of his authorship. Where this is the case it is so noted. CFA2's manuscript Diary, his Memorabilia, and his correspondence (all in the Massachusetts Historical Society) have also been freely drawn on, but the compiler is under no illusion that the record as here presented is complete. Information on items overlooked would be gratefully received.

## Checklist

### 1855

"Hawthorne." *Harvard Magazine*, 1:330-335 (July 1855). [1]

Unsigned, but tear sheets are in Miscellanies, followed by tear sheets of "Charles Reade's Stories," a review of three works by Reade, and of "Whittier," a review of Whittier's *The Panorama*, in *Harvard Magazine*, 1:464-472 (Nov. 1855), and 2:137-149 (May 1856), respectively. "I was one of the recognized litterateurs of my time and class. . . . This was the one great and gratifying feature of my college life, the sense of growth" (*Autobiography*, p. 26).

### 1861

"The Reign of King Cotton." *Atlantic Monthly*, 7:451-465 (April 1861). [2]

Unsigned, but see *Autobiography*, p. 41: "It caused me to be recognized as a young man of somewhat nebulous promise."

### 1867

"Legislative Control over Railway Charters." *American Law Review*, 1:451-476 (April 1867). [3]

Unsigned, but see separate printing under a different title (No. 8).

[The Railroad System.] *North American Review*, 104:476-511 (April 1867). [4]

An unsigned review of *The Railroad System* by Josiah Quincy; *Annual Report of the Western Railroad Corporation, Jan. 1867; The Central Pacific Railroad of California* by George Brown; and *Colorado—Its Resources, Wealth and Prospects: Address of Governor Evans before the Board of Trade of Chicago*. Having "fixed on the railroad system . . . and determined to attach myself to it . . . I proceeded to write an article on 'Railroads' for the *North American Review*. . . . I hardly consulted a book, while, certainly, I knew nothing of my subject. . . . The article appeared—'judiciously edited,' I am glad to say, by Norton—in the *North American* for April, 1867, and it helped me much" (*Autobiography*, p. 170-171).

### 1868

"Boston." *North American Review*, 106:1-25, 557-591 (Jan., April 1868). [5]

CFA2 compares the economic enterprise of Chicago and Boston, unfavorably to the latter, and calls for "a System," or organized, scientific plan, for developing Boston's business, commerce, and transportation so that she may "take her place among the sisterhood of cosmopolitan cities."

"The Erie Railroad Row." *American Law Review*, 3:41-86 (Oct. 1868). [6]

Unsigned but reprinted separately with the author's name and a different title (No. 7).

*The Erie Railroad Row Considered as an Episode in Court.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1868. 46 p. [7]

See No. 6 for original version.

*Railroad Legislation.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1868. 30 p. [8]

Originally entitled "Legislative Control over Railway Charters" (No. 3).

## 1869

"A Chapter of Erie." *North American Review,* 109:30-106 (July 1869). [9]

Reprinted separately, Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co., 1869, iv, 152 p., and included in *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays* (No. 29). Also in: William Z. Ripley, ed., *Railway Problems,* Boston, [1907], p. 1-61; rev. edn., 1913.

*The Double Anniversary: '76 and '63. A Fourth of July Address Delivered at Quincy, Mass.* Boston: Wm. Parsons Lunt, 1869. 22 p. [10]

With the publication of *A Chapter of Erie,* his nomination to the Massachusetts Railroad Commission, and this address, all in July 1869, CFA2 felt that his "preliminary struggle" was over. See *Autobiography,* p. 173, and entries of 4, 5, and 13 July 1869 in his Diary.

"The Protection of the Ballot in National Elections. Paper Read at the General Meeting of the [American Social Science] Association, at Albany, New York, February 19, 1869." *Journal of Social Science,* 1:91-111 (June 1869). [11]

"Railroad Inflation." *North American Review,* 108:130-164 (Jan. 1869). [12]

See also No. 29.

"The Senatorial Term." *American Law Review,* 4:18-30 (Oct. 1869). [13]

Also a separate, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1869, 15 p. Both are unsigned but in CFA2's Miscellanies.

## 1870

"The Election of Presidents. A Paper Read at the General Meeting of the [American Social Science] Association, at New York, October 27, 1869." *Journal of Social Science,* 2(1870):148-158. [14]

"The Erie Ring and American Credit." *Nation,* 10:282-283 (5 May 1870). [15]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

*First Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1870.* Mass. Documents, House, No. 8. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1870. 125 p. [16]

Signed by the three railroad commissioners, but CFA2's Diary for Nov. 1869–Jan. 1870 makes it clear that the report was the product of his pen. This pattern was repeated each year until he resigned from the Commission in 1879; see *Autobiography,* p. 173-174.

[Letter of Board of Railroad Commissioners to the President of the Senate, 8 Feb. 1870, calling attention to violations of safety regulations by railroad companies.] Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 36. 3 p. [17]

As in the case of the *Annual Report* (No. 16), the miscellaneous documents of the Railroad Commission were signed by the three commissioners, although not without exceptions. Hereafter no mention will be made of this fact even though the name or names are present at the end of the documents.

*Minority Report* [of the Committee on Railways on the petition of the Boston, Hartford and Erie Railroad Co., 9 May 1870.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 360, p. 17-23. [18]

Signed by C. J. Kittredge and Thomas Earle; there is no indication of CFA2's authorship except its presence in Miscellanies.

"The 'Pooling' of Railroad Receipts." *Nation,* 11:309-310 (10 Nov. 1870). [19]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

"Railroad Subsidies." *Nation,* 11:219-220 (6 Oct. 1870). [20]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

"Railway Commissions." *Journal of Social Science,* 2(1870):233-236. Unsigned but in Miscellanies. [21]

"Railway Problems in 1869." *North American Review,* 110:116-150 (Jan. 1870). [22]

See also No. 29.

"Report of Mr. Adams [on terminal facilities on the northerly side of Boston, October 1870]," [source unknown,] p. 24-34. [23]

Tear sheets in Miscellanies.

[Report on steel rails submitted by the Railroad Commissioners to the Legislature, 12 Feb. 1870.] Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 47. 31 p. [24]

"The Secret of the Rise on Steel." *Nation,* 10:152-153 (10 March 1870). [25]

Unsigned but in CFA2's Scrapbook [1]. "Finished my article,—it gives an idea of the value of literary labor, I passed over it 7½ hours of severe labor and shall receive $15,—$2 an hour" (Diary, 6 March 1870).

"Supreme Court of Michigan. Municipal Aid to Railroads. The People ex rel. the Detroit and Howell Railroad Co. v. the Township Board of Salem." *American Law Review,* 5:126-158 (Oct. 1870). [26]

Unsigned but in Miscellanies. "Looked over my paper in the Law Review, which is tolerable" (Diary, 4 Oct. 1870).

"Testimony." *Report of Testimony Given at the Hearings upon the Petition of the Boston, Hartford and Erie Railroad Co., for State Aid.* Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 133, p. 407-417, 431-462. [27]

"Town Follies." *Nation,* 10:100-101 (17 Feb. 1870). [28]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1]. Condemns the construction of new railroads with public funds.

## 1871

*Chapters of Erie and Other Essays.* By Charles F. Adams, Jr., and Henry Adams. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1871. 429 p. [29]

Contains three essays by CFA2, "A Chapter of Erie" (No. 9), "An Erie Raid" (No. 30), and "The Railroad System" (the last from material which had originally appeared in four essays by CFA2 in the *North American Review:* Nos. 4, 12, 22, 31); also four essays by Henry Adams; and one essay by Francis Amasa Walker and Henry Adams. 2d edn., New York: H. Holt and Co., 1886, 429 p. "In the evening corrected proofs of our book,—Heavens! how disgusting this going over our own poor stuff, and so poor! I have been reading Thackeray, and I never shall know how to write." (CFA2, Diary, 23 June 1871).

"An Erie Raid." *North American Review,* 112:241-291 (April 1871). [30]

Also included in *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays* (No. 29).

"The Government and the Railroad Corporations." *North American Review,* 112:31-61 (Jan. 1871). [31]

Reprinted separately, Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1871, 33 p. See also No. 29. In the course of writing this article CFA2 noted in his Diary (2 Nov. 1870): "The old story again, —at work for the joint commission all the morning and for the N. American all the evening,—but for myself, —all experience & all theory will be at fault however if success does not attend such industry." To G. F. Hoar he wrote on 10 Dec. 1870 (Hoar Papers, M. H. S.): "In the forthcoming number of the North American Review there will be an article by me wholly devoted to the question of public control of railroads and demonstrating, as well as I can, the absolute necessity for Congress at some time to assume jurisdiction."

"The Lessons of the [Benjamin] Butler Canvass." *Nation,* 13:221-222 (5 Oct. 1871). [32]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

"A Novel Scheme for Securing Railroad Competition." *Nation,* 12:21-22 (12 Jan. 1871). [33]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1]. On the proposal of the Mass. Board of Railroad Commissioners to temper competition by introducing a limited amount of government ownership.

[Report of the Committee on Railways concerning the Boston and Portland Railway Trust Company and the order concerning cheap railway transportation, 6 May 1871.] Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 276. 9 p. [34]

The only evidence of CFA2's authorship is its presence in his Miscellanies.

*Report of the Joint Commission (Harbor Commissioners and Railroad Commissioners) on the Subjects* [terminal and navigational facilities] *Referred to Them by Chap. 301, Sect. 2, Acts of 1870.* Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 179. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1871. 46 p. [35]

*Report of the Petition of D. B. Wingate and Others for the Removal of the Passenger Station of the Boston & Albany Railroad from Washington Street in Natick,* [April 1871]. Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 256. 5 p. [36]

"Report of the Supervisors of the Adams Temple and School Fund, to the Inhabitants of Quincy." *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy, for the School Year 1870-71.* Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1871, p. 15-41. [37]

Signed by CFA2 and four others.

"Salaries [of the national judiciary]." *Nation,* 12:120-121 (23 Feb.

1871). [38]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

*Second Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1871.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 35. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1871. 131 p. [39]

## 1872

"The Butler Canvass." *North American Review,* 114:147-170 (Jan. 1872). [40]

Unsigned but in Miscellanies.

"The Experience of a Public Library [in Quincy, Mass.]." *Nation,* 14: 334-335, 350-351 (23, 30 May 1872). [41]

Unsigned but in CFA2's Scrapbook [1]. The first free library in Quincy was established by private subscriptions amounting to $2,500 in 1871. See CFA2, *Three Episodes* (No. 227), 2:940-941, and L. Draper Hill, Jr., *The Crane Library* (Quincy, 1962).

"The Fate of an Historic Edifice." *Nation,* 15:346-347 (28 Nov. 1872). [42]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1]. The edifice was the Old South Meeting House in Boston.

*An Oration before the City Authorities of Boston, on the Fourth of July, 1872.* Boston Documents, No. 80. Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, City Printers, 1872. 32 p. [43]

"The oration was not a success,—I failed to get control of my audience, who did not fill the hall and was hot and very miscellaneous,—I got demoralised and scampered through in 45 minutes,—it was a failure, but the relief in getting it through was intense" (Diary, 4 July 1872).

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eightieth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1872.* Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1872, p. 75-80. [44]

Also separate with own pagination. This and subsequent library reports were with few exceptions signed by the six trustees.

"Railroad Investments." *Nation,* 15: 102-103 (5 Aug. 1872). [45]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

[Report of statistics of labor of Massachusetts.] *North American Review,* 115:210-219 (July 1872). [46]

An unsigned review of the *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts . . . March 1, 1871, to March 1, 1872* (Boston, 1872).

[Report of the Board of Health of Massachusetts.] *North American Review,* 115:219-225 (July 1872). [47]

Unsigned review of the *Third Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1872).

*Third Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1872.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1872. 355 p. [48]

## 1873

*Circular in Relation to the Bonds of the Chicago & Michigan Lake Shore Railroad Company.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1873. 15 p. [49]

Consists of CFA2's letter to Isaac Livermore, Treasurer, Chicago & Michigan Lake Shore R. R. Co., Boston, 16 Nov. 1873.

"The 'Farmers' Clubs' and the Railroads." *Nation*, 16:249-250 (10 April 1873). [50]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

*Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1873.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1873. 229 p. [51]

See "Introductory Note," above, p. 239.

[Letter to the Committee on Railways concerning the Board of Agriculture's communication on tariff for freight, 27 March 1873.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 266. 3 p. [52]

[Letter to the Committee on Railways relative to freight rates charged by the Boston & Albany Railroad Company on lime, hay, coal, etc., 4 April 1873.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 284. 4 p. [53]

[Letter to the Committee on Railways relative to the charges for freight upon railroads, 4 April 1873.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 285. 4 p. [54]

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-First Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1873.* Boston: Press of Rand, Avery & Company, 1873, p. 82-84. [55]

Also separate with own pagination.

*The Regulation of All Railroads through the State Ownership of One. Speech . . . on Behalf of the Mass. Board of Railroad Commissioners, Made before the Joint Standing Legislative Committee on Railways, Feb. 14, 1873.* Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1873. 39 p. [56]

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-First Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1873.* Boston: Press of Rand, Avery & Company, 1873, p. 85. [57]

Signed by CFA2 and five others; multiple signatures are disregarded in subsequent entries for these reports.

*Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1872-73.* Boston: Press of Rand, Avery & Company, 1873. 29 p. [58]

In 1873 the members of the school committee conducted the annual student examinations themselves and were appalled at the results, as this report indicates. They subsequently engaged Francis W. Parker as school superintendent and completely altered the school curriculum. See also No. 125.

[Response to a toast in memory of the signers of the Declaration of Independence at the Fourth of July dinner in Vienna, 1873], [source unknown,] p. 17-20. [59]

Tear sheets in Miscellanies.

## 1874

"Address." *Proceedings on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Permanent Settlement of Weymouth, with an Historical Address by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., July 4, 1874.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1874, p. 3-69. [60]

As CFA2 neared the completion of his *Three Episodes* (No. 227) he recalled in his Memorabilia (17 July 1891) that "It was the Weymouth address of 1874 which first set me in motion that way." See also *Autobiography*, p. 180-183. Reprinted as "Wessagusset and Weymouth" with his "Weymouth Thirty Years Later" (No. 354).

"The 'Bloated Bondholder.'" *Nation*, 19:345-346 (26 Nov. 1874). [61]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

"The Currency Debate of 1873-74." *North American Review*, 119:111-165 (July 1874). [62]

"An Episode in Municipal Government: The Ring." *North American Review*, 119:359-408 (Oct. 1874). [63]

Signed by Charles F. Wingate, who furnished the raw material, but actually written by CFA2. In his own copy in his Miscellanies CFA2 noted, 6 Jan. 1877: "The literary work is all mine. Preparing these articles for the press was, indeed, the most irksome literary work I ever did, and I have now no reason to believe that it will ever prove in any way profitable to me." Continued in three further articles, 1875-1876 (Nos. 78, 79, and 91).

"The Experience of a Great Corporation." *Nation*, 19:264-265 (22 Oct. 1874). [64]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook[1]. On the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

*Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1874*. Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Wright & Potter, 1874. 235 p. [65]

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-Second Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1874*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1874, p. 89-92. [66]

Also separate with own pagination.

[Report and drafts by the Railroad Commissioners of two bills relating to railroad corporations transporting merchandise for hire, March 1874.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 351. 12 p. [67]

"Report of Commissioner Adams." *Commonwealth of Massachusetts Report of the Commissioners to the Exposition at Vienna, February 1874*. Mass. Documents, House, No. 100. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1874, p. 5-55. [68]

Reprinted with different title (No. 74).

[Report of the Railroad Commissioners on a bill to regulate the speed of railroad trains through villages and towns.] Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 172. 4 p. [69]

[Report of the Railroad Commissioners on the case of Scudder Bartlett & Co., April 1874.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 291. 10 p. [70]

*Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1873-74*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1874. 15 p. [71]

"Second Annual Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-Second Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1874*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1874, p. 93-95. [72]

"Testimony Before the Committee on Horse Railways." *The Identity of Street Railways with the Highway: Discussion before the Committee on Horse Railways on the General Street Railway Bill.* . . . Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, City Printers, 1874, p. 78-147. [73]

*The Vienna Exposition and the Philadelphia Centennial. Report of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Commissioner of the State of Massachusetts to the Universal Exposition at Vienna.* Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1874. 53 p. [74]

See No. 68 for the original form of this report as a state document.

## 1875

*Boston, Hoosac Tunnel and Western Railroad Company. Report of the Corporators, Appointed under Acts of 1874, Chapter 403.* Mass. Documents, House, No. 9. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1875. 32, cxxxv p. [75]

Signed by CFA2 and four others.

*Catalogue of the Public Library of Quincy, Mass.* Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1875. 288 p. [76]

Although CFA2's name does not appear in this publication, he wrote in his Diary, 20 Jan. 1873, that he had, "in despair of anyone else doing it, assumed the work of editing the catalogue of the library." Later entries in his Diary indicate that he devoted much time to the project in the winter and spring of 1875.

*Communication and an Act to Provide for the Enforcement of Certain Provisions of Chapter Three Hundred and Seventy-two of the Acts of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Seventy-four, Relative to Crossings of Railroads by Highways.* Mass. Documents, House, No. 358. 3 p. [77]

Addressed to the Committee on Railroads by the Railroad Commissioners, 26 April 1875.

"An Episode in Municipal Government: The Reign of the Ring." *North American Review,* 120:119-174 (Jan. 1875). [78]

See note under No. 63.

"An Episode in Municipal Government: The Ring Charter." *North American Review,* 121:113-155 (July 1875). [79]

See note under No. 63.

"The Granger Movement." *North American Review,* 120:394-424 (April 1875). [80]

Reprinted separately as *The Grangers* (No. 81).

*The Grangers.* [Cambridge:] University Press, 1875. 32 p. [81]

Separate of No. 80.

"Of Some Railroad Accidents." *Atlantic Monthly,* 36:571-582, 736-747 (Nov., Dec. 1875). [82]

Revised and included in *Notes on Railroad Accidents* (No. 126).

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-Third Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1875.* Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1875, p. 90-93. [83]

Also separate with own pagination.

*The Railroad Problem; a Lecture . . . Delivered at the Lowell Institute, in Boston, February 26, 1875.* New

York: The Railroad Gazette, 1875. 19 p. [84]

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-Third Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1875.* Boston: Press of Rockwell and Churchill, 1875, p. 94-97. [85]

[Report of the Railroad Commissioners on the Boston and Albany Railroad freight charges for transporting grain, 3 March 1875.] Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 60. 3 p. [86]

*Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1874-75.* Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1875. 19 p. [87]

*Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1875.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1875. 157 p. [88]

*Which Will Quickest Solve the Railroad Question: Force Bills or Public Opinion? An Address . . . Delivered at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, September 3, 1875.* n.p. [1875]. 20 p. [89]

## 1876

"A Disputed Election or a Failure to Elect." *Nation,* 23:322-323 (30 Nov. 1876). [90]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1]. On the Hayes-Tilden election.

"An Episode in Municipal Government: The Shattering of the Ring." *North American Review,* 123:362-425 (Oct. 1876). [91]

See note under No. 63.

"The 'Independents' in the Canvass." *North American Review,* 123:426-467 (Oct. 1876). [92]

Unsigned but in Miscellanies; described as a "political manifesto" by CFA2 in his Diary (26 Aug. 1876).

"The Last Railroad Grievance." *Nation,* 22:189-190 (23 March 1876). [93]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-Fourth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1876.* Boston: Rand, Avery and Company, 1876, p. 77-83. [94]

Also separate with own pagination.

"The Railroad Death-Rate." *Atlantic Monthly,* 37:207-219 (Feb. 1876). [95]

Revised and included in *Notes on Railroad Accidents* (No. 126).

"Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1875-76." *Eighty-Fourth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1876.* Boston: Rand, Avery and Company, 1876, p. 107-148. [96]

"The Revere Catastrophe." *Atlantic Monthly,* 37:92-103 (Jan. 1876). [97]

On the railroad accident at Revere, Mass., 26 Aug. 1871. Revised and included in *Notes on Railroad Accidents* (No. 126).

*Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1876.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1876. 213 p. [98]

"The State and the Railroads." *Atlantic Monthly*, 37:360-371, 691-699; 38:72-85 (March, June, July 1876). [99]

A separate of the third part, with no imprint and unchanged pagination, was distributed by the Southern Railway and Steamship Association.

[Theodore Bacon's Fourth of July oration.] *Nation*, 23:183 (21 Sept. 1876). [100]

Unsigned but attributed to CFA2 in Haskell, *The Nation, Indexes of Titles and Contributors.*

## 1877

"The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers." *Nation*, 24:158-159, 173-174 (15, 22 March 1877). [101]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

*Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1877.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Albert J. Wright, State Printer, 1877. 145 p. [102]

"The Florida Decision." *Nation*, 24:98 (15 Feb. 1877). [103]

Unsigned but attributed to CFA2 in Haskell, *The Nation, Indexes of Titles and Contributors.* On the Hayes-Tilden election in Florida.

"The May-Pole of Merrymount." *Atlantic Monthly*, 39:557-567, 686-697 (May, June 1877). [104]

*Message of His Excellency the Governor* [Alexander H. Rice] *Returning to the Senate the Bill to Further Define the Policy of the Commonwealth in Regard to the Hoosac Tunnel and Troy & Greenfield Railroad, 16 May 1877.* Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 200. 5 p. [105]

The only evidence of CFA2's authorship is its presence in Miscellanies.

"The Public Library and the Public Schools." *American Library Journal*, 1:437-441 (31 August 1877). [106]

Condensed version, prepared by C. A. Cutter, of CFA2's speech to the teachers of the public schools of Quincy, 19 May 1876. Reprinted in *The Relationship between the Library and the Public Schools: Reprints of Papers and Addresses*, Arthur E. Bostwick, ed., White Plains & New York, 1914. Full text printed in *The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy and Other Papers* (No. 125) and in *Libraries and Schools, Papers Selected by Samuel S. Green*, New York, 1883.

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-Fifth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1877.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1877, p. 81-84. [107]

Also separate with own pagination.

"Railroad Accidents in Great Britain and the United States." *Nation*, 24:98-100 (15 Feb. 1877). [108]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

[Report and bill presented by the minority of the Joint Special Committee on the Hoosac Tunnel and Troy & Greenfield Railroad, 25 April 1877.] Mass. Documents, Senate, No. 174. 10 p. [109]

Report signed by Henry Lee; the only

evidence of CFA2's authorship is its presence in Miscellanies.

*Report of Massachusetts Railroad Commissioners on the Boston & Maine Railroad Strike of February 12, 1877.* Mass. Documents, House, No. 102. 17 p. [110]

Reprinted in 1888 as *Mr. Arthur and the Strike of Engineers* . . . (No. 196).

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-Fifth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1877.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1877, p. 85-90. [111]

[Report of the Railroad Commissioners on the financial condition of the New York & New England Railroad, March 1877.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 325. 21 p. [112]

"Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1876-77." *Eighty-Fifth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1877.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1877, p. 109-142. [113]

## 1878

"Appendix." [Report of the Committee on Finance on the bill to secure the interests of the Commonwealth in the New York & New England Railroad, April 1878.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 333, p. 64-69. [114]

The only evidence of CFA2's authorship is its presence in Miscellanies.

*Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1878.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., Printers to the Commonwealth, 1878. 175 p. [115]

[The "Old Planters" about Boston Harbor.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 1st ser., 16 (1878):194-206. [116]

See also No. 134.

[On the tramp nuisance.] *Nation*, 26:50 (24 Jan. 1878). [117]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1878.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1878, p. 88-91. [118]

Also separate with own pagination.

*Railroads: Their Origin and Problems.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878. 216 p. [119]

A revised edn. with an appendix printing the laws relating to the Massachusetts Railroad Commission was printed during the same year and reprinted in 1879, 1880, 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1893.

*Report of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad for the Year Ending June 30, 1878.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878. 22 p. [120]

Signed by CFA2 and four others. "In 1878, I was made the Chairman of the Board of Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and, for the first time, visited the Pacific Coast. This was through the influence of Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior in the Hayes Cabinet. I prepared the report; but, though at the time it was merely put in the Department files, much to me a little later on resulted from that experience" (*Autobiography*, p. 184-185).

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1878*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1878, p. 92-94. [121]

"Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1877-78." *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1878*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1878, p. 117-156. [122]

## 1879

"Albert Gallatin." *Nation*, 29:128-129, 144-145 (21, 28 Aug. 1879). [123]

An unsigned review of his brother Henry's *The Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879) in which CFA2 referred to the volume as "an outrage both on Albert Gallatin and on everyone who wishes to know anything about him." Henry may never have learned who wrote this unfavorable review (see Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams: The Middle Years*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 64-66).

[Letter to Charles S. Osgood, Chairman, Joint Committee on Railroads, 20 Feb. 1879, in relation to the organization, duties, compensation, etc., of the Board of Railroad Commissioners.] Mass. Documents, House, No. 225. 11 p. [124]

*The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy and Other Papers on Educational Topics*. Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1879. 51 p. [125]

Also issued with the title *The Public Library and the Common Schools* (No. 127). Contains three essays: "The Public Library and the Public Schools" (No. 106), presented to the teachers of the Quincy public schools, 19 May 1876; "Fiction in Public Libraries and Educational Catalogues," read at the meeting of the American Library Association, Boston, 1 July 1879; and "The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy," prepared for the Spring 1879 meeting of the Association of School Committees and Superintendents of Norfolk County. Six edns. were printed between 1879 and 1881; the 6th edn., Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1881, 74 p. included an additional paper, "The Development of the Superintendency," originally entitled "Scientific Common-School Education" (No. 142). CFA2 had little to say in his *Autobiography* concerning his work as a school reformer, but in *Three Episodes* (No. 227) he devoted a chapter to the movement that became known as "the Quincy System" and had wide influence on pedagogical methods in the United States (2:932-943). See also Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School . . .*, New York, 1961, p. 129-131; James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs*, New York, 1961, p. 138-139.

*Notes on Railroad Accidents*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1879, vi, 280 p. [126]

Includes revised versions of Nos. 82, 95, and 97.

*The Public Library and the Common Schools: Three Papers on Educational Topics*. Boston: Estes and Lauriat,

1879. 51 p. [127]

Also issued with the title *The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy* (No. 125); see the note there.

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-Seventh Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1879.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1879, p. 115-119. [128]

Also separate with own pagination.

*Quincy Public Library, Catalogue—Supplement No. 1, Including All Additions to the Library from September, 1875, to December 31, 1878.* Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1879. 56 p. [129]

As in the case of the main catalogue (No. 76) CFA2's name does not appear, but on 30 Dec. 1878 he noted in his Diary: "in evening started on Supplement to Catalogue of Q. Library."

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-Seventh Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1879.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1879, p. 120-129. [130]

"Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1878-79." *Eighty-Seventh Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1879.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1879, p. 155-192. [131]

"Report on the Quincy Town Debt." *Eighty-Seventh Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1879.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1879, p. 89-101. [132]

*Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1879.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 29. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., Printers to the Commonwealth, 1879. 452 p. [133]

See also No. 119.

## 1880

"The Earliest Explorations and Settlement of Boston Harbor." Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston.* Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1880, 1:63-86. [134]

Contains much the same material as No. 116.

*The Federation of the Railroad System. Argument of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., February 27, 1880, before the Committee of Commerce of the United States House of Representatives on the Bills to Regulate Interstate Railroad Traffic.* Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1880. 24 p. [135]

See also No. 186.

*Individuality in Politics. A Lecture Delivered in Steinway Hall, New York, Wednesday Evening, April 21, 1880.* Independent Republican Campaign Documents, No. 2. New York: Independent Republican Association [1880]. 16 p. [136]

[Massachusetts schools.] *Nation,* 30: 235 (25 March 1880). [137]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [1].

"Public Library of Quincy." *Eighty-Eighth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1,* *1880*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1880, p. 115-118. [138]

"Report of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund." *Eighty-Eighth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1880*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1880, p. 104. [139]

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-Eighth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1880*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1880, p. 125-132. [140]

"Report of the School Committee of the Town of Quincy for the School Year 1879-80." *Eighty-Eighth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1880*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1880, p. 171-200. [141]

"Scientific Common-School Education." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 61:934-942 (Nov. 1880). [142]

An abridged and revised version of an address before the National Educational Society at Chautauqua, 14 July 1880. Also added to the 6th edn. (1881) of *The New Departure in the Common Schools of Quincy and Other Papers* (No. 125) with the title "The Development of the Superintendency."

"Special Report on Accidents and Complaints." *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, January 1880*. Mass. Documents, Public, No. 14. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., Printers to the Commonwealth, 1880, Appendix E, p. 197-221. [143]

Unsigned but in Miscellanies. CFA2 had resigned from the Board in July 1879; this apparently was the only portion of the present *Report* for which he was responsible.

*Taxation of Railroads and Railroad Securities*. New York: The Railroad Gazette, 1880. 49 p. [144]

By CFA2, W. B. Williams, and J. H. Oberly, a committee appointed at a convention of state railroad commissioners to study railroad taxation and to report upon a plan for an equitable system for such taxation.

See also No. 119.

## 1881

"Annual Report of the Board of Education." *Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education Together with the Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board, 1879-80. January 1881*. Mass. Documents, Public, No. 2. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1881, p. 7-14. [145]

Signed by CFA2 and nine others. CFA2 was appointed to the Board by Gov. John D. Long in the spring of 1880; he resigned 8 Oct. 1881.

"The Canal and Railroad Enterprise of Boston." Justin Winsor, ed., *Memorial History of Boston*. Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1881, 4:111-150. [146]

Also a separate, Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1882, pagination unchanged.

"The Fallacies of the Anti-Monopoly League." *Nation*, 32:199-200 (24 March 1881). [147]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [3].

"The Railroad Usury Law." *Nation*, 32:254-255 (24 March 1881). [148]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [3].

"Report of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund." *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1881*. Boston: H. T. Johnson & Co., 1881, p. 110. [149]

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1881*. Boston: H. T. Johnson & Co., 1881, p. 133-134. [150]

*State School Supervision. Argument of Charles Francis Adams, Jr. in Favor of the "Ten Districts" Bill, before the Legislative Committee on Education, March 2, 1881*. Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1881. 14 p. [151]

*Statistical Tables Illustrating the Plan of School Supervision Proposed in House Bill No. 237*. Mass. Documents, House, No. 280. 30 p. [152]

The only indication of CFA2's authorship is its presence in Miscellanies.

"The Thomas Crane Public Library." *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1881*. Boston: H. T. Johnson & Co., 1881, p. 121-132. [153]

Also separate with own pagination.

"Thurber versus Fink." *Nation*, 32: 273-274 (21 April 1881). [154]

Unsigned but in Scrapbook [3]. On the Anti-Monopoly League and the railroad problem. See also letters to the editor in the previous and following issues.

See also No. 125.

## 1882

"Division of Dead Freight and Live Stock at Chicago; Award of Arbitrator [CFA2] on Appeal from the Recommendations of the Commissioner by the Chicago & Grand Trunk Railway, Detroit, Mich., November 1, 1882," [source unknown,] p. 107-123. [155]

Tear sheets in Miscellanies.

*Remarks of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., on the Subject of a National Railroad Commission, before the Merchants Association of Boston, Saturday, February 25, 1882*. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1882. 10 p. [156]

"Oppressed all day with the speech I had on my mental stomach to make in the evening. . . . At 6 to dinner of the Merchants Assoc. and made my speech, which went off very well,—not red letter" (Diary, 25 Feb. 1882).

"Report on the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Ninetieth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1882*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1882, p. 113-115. [157]

*Report of the Merry-Mount Park Association, February 1882*. Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1882. 18 p., folding plan. [158]

Signed by Charles H. Porter as president of the Association; CFA2 was chairman of the executive committee. A copy is in his Miscellanies. The aim of the Association was to raise funds to buy property on the shore of Quincy suitable for a park. In 1885 CFA2 himself purchased the property wanted (89 acres) and gave it to the town for park purposes; see Daniel Munro Wilson, *Where American Independence Began*, Boston and New York, 1904, p. 146.

"Sinking Fund." *Ninetieth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1882*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1882, p. 100. [159]

"Thomas Crane Public Library." *Ninetieth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1882*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1882, p. 103-108. [160]

Also separate with own pagination.

See also No. 146.

## 1883

"Address." *Address of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and Proceedings at the Dedication of the Crane Memorial Hall, at Quincy, Mass., May 30, 1882*. Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1883, p. 3-25. [161]

"Staid at Q. and polished off the Crane address,—but in revising it I was fairly stampeded. It was too remote—too hard pumping. I could not get close to my subject,—the absence of straw in my bricks was too noticeable. Very low in my spirit all the rest of the day." But after the ceremony itself he noted: "Day very fine. The occasion in all respects passed off very well indeed,—my address 35 minutes" (Diary, 17, 30 May 1882).

*A College Fetich. An Address Delivered Before the Harvard Chapter of the Fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa, in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, June 28, 1883*. Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: C. T. Dillingham, 1883. 38 p. [162]

On the overemphasis of the classics in college curricula. A set of author's proofs, with marginal criticisms and corrections by Henry Adams, is in CFA2's Miscellanies. 2d edn., 1883; 3d edn. with supplementary appendix, 1884, 71 p. Included in *Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses* (No. 372). A bibliography of the controversy aroused by this address will be found in "A list of the Publications of Harvard University and its Officers, 1880-1885," *Bibliographical Contributions of the Library of Harvard College*, No. 21, p. 9-12.

"Division of Dead Freight from Cincinnati (Town). Award of Arbitrator [CFA2] on the Application of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton R. R. Co. for an Increased Percentage, New York, July 6, 1883," [source unknown,] p. 29-33, chart. [163]

Tear sheets in Miscellanies.

*Division of Live Stock and Dressed Beef Traffic at Chicago; Award by Arbitrator* [CFA2] *upon Entrance of N. Y. & St. L. Ry. in Chicago Live Stock Division*. New York: Russell Brothers, Printers, 1883. 13 p. [164]

"Division of Live Stock and Dressed Beef at Chicago; Award of Arbitrator [CFA2] on the Application of the New York, Chicago and St. Louis R. R. Co. for a Rehearing, New York, June 11, 1883," [source unknown,] p. 35-38. [165]

Tear sheets in Miscellanies.

"Division of Live Stock at St. Louis. Award of C. F. Adams, Jr., Arbitrator, on Appeal from Recommendations of the Commissioner, St. Louis, April 16, 1883," [source unknown,] p. 41-46, 2 charts. [166]

Tear sheets in Miscellanies. Also separate, New York: Russell Brothers, 1883.

*Episodes in New England History. Vol. I.* . . . Cambridge: Privately Printed [by John Wilson and Son, University Press], 1883. xiv, 480 p. [167]

Contains preliminary versions of "The Settlement of Boston Bay" and "The Antinomian Controversy," the first and second "episodes" in *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (No. 227). According to various statements by the author, from six to twelve copies were printed. A copy he presented on 11 June 1886 to the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a typewritten, signed memorandum bound in at the front requesting readers to enter in the margins, "made wide for the purpose," all errors and additional sources and references. The Preface sets forth CFA2's plan, which he doubts he will complete, for "a work of at least six volumes" of the present size on the history of Massachusetts by "periods and episodes of especial importance" (because he believes that "consecutive histories on a large scale are neither practicable nor satisfactory"), illustrating Massachusetts' main contribution to civilization—the principle of "the absolute equality of men before the law." See also No. 215.

*The New English Canaan of Thomas Morton. With Introductory Matter and Notes by Charles Francis Adams, Jr.* Prince Society, *Publications*, vol. 14. Boston: Prince Society, 1883. vi, 381 p. [168]

Reprint, with an Introduction, p. 1-105, of the Amsterdam edition of 1637; 250 copies printed. CFA2 worked on this during the winter and spring of 1882 interspersing it with work on his *Episodes* (No. 167). At one point (2 March 1882) he said in his Diary "Morton seems to me interminable." But he later (21 April 1889) recalled in his Memorabilia, "I got more pleasure by far,—incomparably more,—out of editing Morton's New English Canaan than I ever shall get out of the presidency of the Union Pacific."

[The printing of old manuscripts.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 20 (1882-1883):175-183. [169]

"Report of Committee on Care of the Town Poor." *Ninety-First Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1883.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1883, p. 138-147. [170]

"Report of the Managers of the Adams Academy." *Ninety-First Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1883.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1883, p. 100-101. [171]

"Sinking Fund." *Ninety-First Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1883.* Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1883, p. 96-97. [172]

[Sir Christopher Gardiner.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 1st ser., 20 (1882-1883):60-88. [173]

Also a separate with additions to both text and notes: *Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight; an Historical Monograph. With Additions*, Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1883, 36 p. Also published with subtitle "A Page from Earliest Colonial History" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 66:586-596 (March 1883), with "notes and a detailed reference to authorities . . . omitted."

"Thomas Crane Public Library." *Ninety-First Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1883*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1883, p. 116-123. [174]

Also a separate with own pagination.

See also No. 106.

## 1884

[John Marshall's Diary.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 1 (1884-1885):148-164. [175]

The diary, here selectively edited by CFA2, is that of a Braintree mason and covers the period 1697-1711.

"Letter of Hon. C. F. Adams, Jr. [to Col. Fink relative to the arbitrator's award *in re* percentage of Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R. Co. in the division of westbound traffic from New York, 20 Feb. 1884,]" [source unknown,] p. 5-6. [176]

Tear sheets in Miscellanies.

"Quincy." D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., *History of Norfolk County, Massachusetts*. Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1884, p. 257-375. [177]

Earliest version of CFA2's *History of Braintree* (No. 215) and the third and longest of his *Three Episodes* (No. 227). See also Nos. 167 and 219.

"Report of Commissioners of the Sinking Fund." *Ninety-Second Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . Feb. 1, 1884*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1884, p. 66-69. [178]

"Report of the Trustees of the Thomas Crane Library." *Ninety-Second Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1884*. Boston: Press of Cochrane & Sampson, 1884, p. 78-80. [179]

*Revenue Reform. Invitation to All Believing in Revenue Reform by Lessening the Taxation on the Necessaries of Life and Not From Whiskey and Tobacco, to Meet at Young's Hotel, Boston, April 29, for the Purpose of Forming a League.* [Boston, 1884.] 16 p. [180]

Signed by CFA2 first and then by several hundred others. "At 4 o'cl a meeting of revenue reformers at Youngs, and organized the League" (Diary, 29 April 1884).

See also No. 162.

## 1885

"Report of Committee on Braintree Records." *Ninety-Third Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . Feb. 1, 1885*. Boston: Press of

Alfred Mudge & Son, 1885, p. 87-88. [181]

Signed by CFA2 and eleven others. The work of this committee resulted in Samuel A. Bates' edition of *Records of the Town of Braintree, 1640-1793*, Randolph, 1886.

*Report of the Directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company to the Stockholders for the Year Ending December 31, 1884.* [Boston, 1885.] 218 p. [182]

This and subsequent reports were signed by CFA2 as president, a post to which he had been elected in June 1884 and held until 1891. See his *Autobiography*, p. 191-195; and a tribute to his work for the Union Pacific in Moorfield Storey, "Charles Francis Adams," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 23:568-572 (June 1915).

"Report of the Trustees of the Thomas Crane Library." *Ninety-Third Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1885.* Boston: Press of Alfred Mudge & Son, 1885, p. 83-84. [183]

*Report* [to the Harvard Board of Overseers] *on the Printing of the Quinquennial Catalogue of Harvard University in the English Language.* New York: P. F. Macbreen, Printer, [1885]. 16 p. [184]

Signed by John Osborne Sargent and CFA2, 28 Jan. 1885.

## 1886

*Address Delivered at the 176th Regular Meeting of the Commercial Club of Boston, March 19, 1886.* [Boston, 1886.] 9 p. [185]

Address entitled "The Interstate Commerce Law." Reprinted in *A Compilation of Essays upon Transportation Subjects by Eminent Experts*, Washington, 1893, p. 178-184.

"Charles Francis Adams' Statement." *Report of the Senate Select Committee on Interstate Commerce (Testimony).* Senate Report No. 46, Part 2, 49th Congress, 1st Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886, p. 1201-1224. [186]

A continuation of arguments presented in No. 135.

"Railroad Management as a Profession." *Railroad Gazette*, 18:197 (19 March 1886). [187]

Extracts of CFA2's speech at Harvard, 16 March 1886, in a course of lectures on the various professions.

"Report of Committee on Streets." *Ninety-Fourth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1886.* Boston: Press of Alfred Mudge & Son, 1886, p. 88-92. [188]

*Report of the Directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company to the Stockholders for the Year Ending December 31, 1885.* [Boston: Franklin Press, Rand, Avery and Company, 1886.] 181 p. [189]

During CFA2's presidency of the Union Pacific his literary output decreased substantially. "For the first time in 20 years I have done no literary work. To my intense regret I feel myself drifting away from these occupations. I sometimes fear that I shall never get back to them" (Diary, summary for 1886).

"Report of the Trustees of the Thomas Crane Public Library." *Ninety-Fourth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1886.* Boston: Press of Alfred Mudge & Son, 1886, p. 84-85. [190]

See also Nos. 29 and 119.

## 1887

*Report of the Directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company to the Stockholders for the Year Ending December 31, 1886.* [Boston, 1887.] 185 p. [191]

"Report of the Trustees of the Thomas Crane Public Library." *Ninety-Fifth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1887.* Boston: Franklin Press, Rand Avery Company, 1887, p. 99-101. [192]

Also a separate with own pagination.

"Testimony [on the Union Pacific Railroad]." *Testimony Taken by the United States Pacific Railway Commission. . . . Reported by Charles P. Young . . . Secretary and Stenographer.* . . . Senate Executive Document, No. 51, Part 2, 50th Congress, 1st Session. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887, p. 43-117, 947-950, 971-999, 1989-2004, 4155-4163. [193]

See also No. 119.

## 1888

*The Case of the Union Pacific Railway Company. Statements Made by Charles Francis Adams before the Committee on Pacific Railroads, February 11, 1888, and February 24, 1886.* Boston: R. A. Supply Co., [1888]. 49 p. [194]

*The Interstate Commerce Act: Its Operation and Its Results. Address at the Dinner of the Commercial Club of Boston, December 15, 1888.* Boston: Rand Avery Supply Co., [1888]. 9 p. [195]

"I shall be surprised and taken aback, if this utterance does not awake an echo. Things had got into such a state in the railroad world, that it seemed to me high time for some-one to speak out. Accordingly I took this occasion to do so, with what results next week will show. In what I said [I] indulged in some prophecy as to the future of railroad development. It will hereafter be of interest to see how nearly I tell the truth. Yet the course of development towards vast consolidation directly under government control seems to me so obvious that to predict the results in a general way hardly calls for more than average human sagacity" (Memorabilia, 16 Dec. 1888).

*Mr. Arthur and the Strike of Engineers on the Boston & Maine Railroad, in 1877, as Reported to the Legislature of Massachusetts by the Railroad Commissioners of That State. Reprinted by the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company, March 12, 1888.* [Chicago? 1888.] 17 p. [196]

Reprint of No. 110.

"Preface." Edwards Roberts, *Shoshone and Other Western Wonders.*

New York: Harper & Brothers, 1888, p. v-xii. [197]

Signed by CFA2 at Boston, 20 July 1888. On the beauties of the West and the desirability of Western travel.

"Report of Commissioners of the Sinking Fund." *Ninety-Sixth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1888*, p. 67-69. [198]

*Report of the Directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company to the Stockholders for the Year Ending December 31, 1887*. [Boston, 1888.] 144 p. [199]

"Report of Trustees of the Thomas Crane Public Library." *Ninety-Sixth Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . February 1, 1888*. Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1888, p. 98-101. [200]

Also a separate with own pagination.

See also No. 119.

## 1889

"Allston and His Unfinished Picture: Passages from the Journals of R. H. Dana." *Atlantic Monthly*, 64:637-642 (Nov. 1889). [201]

*The Inter-State Commerce Railway Association*. n.p. [1889]. 9 p., 3 p. [202]

Plan of organization, followed by remarks of the organizing committee separately paged and signed by CFA2, William B. Strong, and Frank S. Bird, New York, 10 Jan. 1889.

*In the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, November 20, 1889. Report of a Special Committee upon the Reorganization of the Visiting Committees*. [Boston?, 1889.] 14 p. [203]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman.

[Letters to Professors G. F. Wright and H. W. Haynes, 8 Sept. and 6 Nov. 1889.] G. Frederick Wright, "The Nampa Image: Correspondence Relating to Its Discovery with Explanatory Comments, etc." Boston Society of Natural History, *Proceedings*, 24 (1889):425, 449-450. [204]

On the age and authenticity of a clay image found in Nampa, Idaho.

"The Prevention of Railroad Strikes." *Scribner's Magazine*, 5:424-430 (April 1889). [205]

Headnote explains that the article was prepared in June 1886 but laid aside. Reprinted in *The American Railway, Its Construction, Development, Management, and Appliances*, New York, 1889, p. 370-382; two additional New York edns. in 1892 and 1897; and a London edn., *Railways of America*, 1890.

*Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolves of the* [Harvard] *Board of Overseers on the Subject of Committees Appointed to Visit the Several Departments of the University, June 13, 1889. Confidential. Printed for the Use of the Committee Only*. Boston: Rand Avery Supply Company, 1889. 16 p. [206]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman.

*Report of the Directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company to the Stockholders for the Year Ending December 31, 1888*. [Boston: Rand Avery

Supply Company, Printers, 1889.] 150 p. [207]

"Report of Trustees of the Thomas Crane Public Library." *Ninety-Seventh Annual Report . . . of the Town of Quincy . . . from February 1, 1888 to January 7, 1889*. Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1889, p. 115-118. [208]

## 1890

[John Dickinson.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 6 (1890-1891): 66-71. [209]

*Report of the Directors of the Union Pacific Railway Company to the Stockholders for the Year Ending December 31, 1889*. [Boston: Rand Avery Supply Company, Printers, 1890.] 194 p. [210]

*Richard Henry Dana, a Biography*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890. 2 vols. 378, 421 p. [211]

Revised edn. published 1890; 3d edn., 1891; 4th, 1895. CFA2 had entered the law offices of Dana and Parker upon graduating from Harvard in 1856. "That Mr. Dana impressed himself deeply upon me, I long afterwards showed by becoming his biographer" (*Autobiography*, p. 38). See also CFA2's Memorabilia, 1 Sept. 1890, for the history of this work.

"Thomas Crane Library Report." *Inaugural Address of the Mayor with the Annual Reports of the Officers of the City of Quincy for the Year 1889*. . . . Boston: Winship, Daniels & Co., 1890, p. 57-60. [212]

Hereafter cited as *Annual Reports of Quincy*.

See also No. 205.

## 1891

"The Coddington School Lands, Braintree, Massachusetts." *Magazine of New England History*, 1:228-238 (Oct. 1891). [213]

Reprinted from the *Quincy Patriot*, 19 Sept. 1891.

"Hands Off." *The Insurance and Investor's Magazine* [Kansas City], 1:15-16 (July 1891). [214]

Advocates *laissez-faire* policy in monetary matters.

*History of Braintree, Massachusetts (1639-1708), the North Precinct of Braintree (1708-1792) and the Town of Quincy (1792-1889)*. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1891. 365, 43 p. [215]

Preface (dated at Quincy, 1 Sept. 1891) states that 50 copies have been printed and that the book is based on CFA2's chapter on Quincy in Hurd's *History of Norfolk County* (No. 177), which was written hastily and contains "many and obvious errors." "The present book is likewise a preliminary study, made in preparation of another work of a more general character," i.e., *Three Episodes* (No. 227). Bound in at the back and noted in the Preface (but not on the titlepage) is the separate printing of "Some Phases of Sexual Morality" (No. 219). See also No. 167.

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions on the Report of the Committee to Visit the Veterinary School on October 21, 1891." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from February 6, 1890 to January 8, 1902 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1902, p. 80-81. [216]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman.

"Report of Trustees of Thomas Crane Public Library." *Annual Reports of Quincy, 1890.* Boston: Winship, Daniels & Co., 1891, p. 206-211. [217]

[Site of the Wessagusset settlement.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 7 (1891-1892):22-29. [218]

Also a separate: Cambridge, 1891, 9 p.

"Some Phases of Sexual Morality and Church Discipline in Colonial New England." M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 6(1890-1891):477-516. [219]

Also a separate (Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1891. 43 p.), copies of which are bound in at the end of CFA2's *History of Braintree* (No. 215). On 11 June 1891 CFA2 recorded in his Diary: "At 3 meeting of Hist. Soc. and read paper on Sexual Morality in Mass.—the room was hot and very noisy from Tremont St. and reading my paper took an hour and a half, tiring my audience and me much more. To Q. at 5:30—so very much fatigued—in fact, tired out." In introducing his subject CFA2 said that since "the truth of history is a sacred thing,—a thing of far more importance than its dignity," he was committing findings that he could not "use freely" in a book of general circulation (i.e. his *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History,* No. 227) to the pages of the Society's *Proceedings* for such reference "as may be desirable."

See also No. 211.

## 1892

*The Centennial Milestone. An Address in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of Quincy, Mass. Delivered July 4, 1892.* Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1892. 59 p. [220]

"If my address for to-day dragged in its preparation, it certainly held its own in that line in delivery. To me it was awful,—the steady raising of a dead weight" (Memorabilia, 4 July 1892). Extracts reprinted in No. 224.

[Columbus and the Spanish discovery of America.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 8 (1892-1894):24-44. [221]

Two separates—one with title *Columbus and the Spanish Discovery of America: A Study in Historical Perspective,* Cambridge: J. Wilson & Son, 1892, 23 p.; the other extended to include the discussion of the paper by George E. Ellis, Gamaliel Bradford, Alexander McKenzie, and Justin Winsor, same imprint, 31 p. See also CFA2's informal remarks on the same subject in American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings,* new ser., 8 (1893):176-180.

[The genesis of the Massachusetts town and the development of town-meeting government.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 7 (1891-1892):172-211. [222]

Also separate with above title including comments by Abner C. Goodnell, Jr., Mellen Chamberlain, and Edward Channing: Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1892, 94 p. See also No.

223. In introductory remarks CFA2 explains that this paper represents a second draft, the first having been "suppressed" because he had "fallen into the error of generalizing from insufficient data."

[The genesis of the Massachusetts town: a supplemental paper.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 7 (1891-1892):441-449. [223]

See also No. 222.

"Municipal Government: Lessons from the Experience of Quincy, Massachusetts." *Forum*, 14:282-292 (Nov. 1892). [224]

Extracts from *The Centennial Milestone* (No. 220 above).

"Report of the Committee on Physical Training, Athletic Sports, and Sanitary Condition of All Buildings, 13 Jan. 1892." *Reports of the Visiting Committees to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from February 6, 1890 to January 8, 1902 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1902, p. 43-53. [225]

Signed by CFA2 and 7 others.

"Report of Trustees of Thomas Crane Public Library." *Annual Reports of Quincy, 1891*. Boston: Brown Bros. & Co., 1892, p. 158-161. [226]

*Three Episodes of Massachusetts History: The Settlement of Boston Bay; The Antinomian Controversy; A Study of Church and Town Government.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892. 2 vols. continuously paged. vi, 1067 p. [227]

"Second Edition" issued in 1892 (author's corrected copy is in M. H. S.), and subsequent ones in 1893, 1894, 1896, and 1903. The last three are called "Revised" but contain only small corrections and no additional matter except that the edition of 1903 adds a "Preface to the Sixth Impression" explaining that the first "Episode" deals with settlement in the Boston region *before* the founding of Boston. Preliminary versions of the first and second of these studies had been privately printed in CFA2's *Episodes in New England History* (No. 167). The first form of the third "Episode" was the chapter on Quincy in Hurd's *History of Norfolk County* (No. 177); it was expanded in CFA2's privately printed *History of Braintree* (No. 215), with a supplement on "Some Phases of Sexual Morality" (No. 219). In his Diary summary for the year 1892 CFA2 expressed "great disappointment over the failure of the 'Three Episodes' to bring forth a response," and attributed this failure, in part, to its appearing "amid the tumult of a presidential election." As the record of later printings shows, the book eventually met with the "response" it deserved.

"The Views of a Patriot: Charles Francis Adams on Pensions and Taxation." *Kate Field's Washington*, 6:389-391 (21 Dec. 1892). [228]

*The Wage Earner and the Savings Bank Depositor vs. the Short Silver Dollar. Credit to Whom Credit Is Due! Speech . . . in Behalf of George Frederick Williams at Dedham, November 2, 1892.* [Boston, 1892.] 12 p. [229]

"What Mr. Cleveland Stands For." *Forum*, 13:662-670 (July 1892). [230]

CFA2's remarks about Civil War pensioners in this article stirred much controversy. In Council Bluffs a resolution condemning him was passed at a Fourth of July reunion of the G. A. R.; others leaped to his defense. See R. J. Clancey to CFA2, Council Bluffs, 7 July 1892, and Albert R. Greene to CFA2, Topeka, 20 Aug. 1892.

See also No. 205.

## 1893

*Massachusetts; Its Historians and Its History: An Object Lesson.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893. 110 p. [231]

2d edn. published in 1894 and 3d in 1898. A condensed version was given as two lectures to Edward Channing's Harvard class on 26 and 28 April 1893.

"Mr. Cleveland's Tasks and Opportunities." *Forum,* 15:298-303 (May 1893). [232]

"Preparatory School Education: The Classics and Written English." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine,* 1: 177-189 (Jan. 1893). [233]

"Report of Park Commissioners." *Annual Reports of Quincy, 1892.* Quincy: Green & Prescott, 1893, p. 123-133. [234]

Also a separate with own pagination.

*Report of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commissioners, January 1893.* Mass. Documents, House, No. 150. xvi, 147 p. [235]

This and subsequent reports were submitted by CFA2 and other commissioners. CFA2 had been appointed to the newly established Board in July 1892; he served until June 1895 (see No. 251).

"Report of the Committee on Composition and Rhetoric to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from February 6, 1890, to January 8, 1902 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1902, p. 117-163, facsimiles [of students' statements on their preparation in English composition]. [236]

Signed by CFA2, E. L. Godkin, and Josiah Quincy. Also separate with no imprint and unchanged pagination. Pasted on CFA2's copy is a printed notice saying that "The demand for the report . . . has proved so great, and the cost of printing is so considerable, that the pamphlet is to be sold hereafter for 50 cents."

"Ropes's Campaign of Waterloo." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine,* 2: 31-38 (Sept. 1893). [237]

Unsigned but in Miscellanies. A review of John Codman Ropes, *The Campaign of Waterloo* (New York, 1892).

*Speech of Hon. Charles F. Adams before the Committee on Taxation on House Bill No. 664.* [Boston: The Sparrell Print, 1893.] 13 p. [238]

Reprinted in 1898 (see No. 268). Also a broadside version: *Double Taxation: The Question of Exemption in Massachusetts, Discourses on Shares of Foreign Corporations Elsewhere Taxed, before the Joint Committee on Taxation of the Legislature at the State House in Boston, March 24,* n.p., n.d.

"Thomas Crane Public Library." *Annual Reports of Quincy, 1892.* Quincy: Green & Prescott, 1893, p. 135-143. [239]

See also Nos. 119, 185, 227.

## 1894

*Address Delivered before the Students of the Veterinary School of Harvard University, September 27, 1894.* [Boston, 1894.] 7 p. [240]

On Harvard's department of veterinary science.

*Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-1638. Including the Short Story and Other Documents.* Prince Society, *Publications*, vol. 21. Boston: Prince Society, 1894. 415 p. [241]

250 copies printed. Includes a Preface and Introduction, p. 9-65, and Welde's "Short Story," "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson," "Trial of Mrs. Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," extracts from John Cotton's "Way of the Churches Cleared," and extracts from Robert Keayne's book, 1639.

[Massachusetts and its history.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 8 (1892-1894):402-412. [242]

"Place of Corporate Action in Our Civilization." Nathaniel S. Shaler, ed., *The United States of America.* New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1894, 2:191-213. [243]

"Reform in City Government." *Proportional Representation Review*, 1: 69-75 (March 1894). [244]

"Report of Park Commissioners." *Annual Reports of Quincy, 1893.* Quincy: Green & Prescott, 1894, p. 139-141. [245]

*Report of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commissioners, January 1894.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 48. Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., State Printers, 1894. 16 p. [246]

"Thomas Crane Public Library." *Annual Reports of Quincy, 1893.* Quincy: Green & Prescott, 1894, p. 165-170. [247]

See also Nos. 227 and 231.

## 1895

"The Battle of Bunker Hill from a Strategic Point of View." American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, new ser., 10 (1895):387-398. [248]

Printed with changes in the *American Historical Review*, 1:401-413 (April 1896); also a separate of this version. Reprinted in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

*The Emancipation of the Voter, the Free List and Proportional Representation; Speeches of C. F. Adams and Moorfield Storey with the Form of Bill Submitted at the Dinner of the Municipal League of Boston, December 19, 1894.* Boston: Frank Wood, Printer, 1895. 27 p. [249]

*The Journeyman's Retrospect. Speech at the Harvard Alumni Dinner, Commencement Day, June 26, 1895.* Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1895. 9 p. [250]

Reprinted in *Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses* (No. 372).

*Report of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commissioners, January 1895.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 48. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., State Printers, 1895. 101 p., maps. [251]

"My plan was simple, and inexpensive. I wanted merely to acquire these great reservations,—especially the Blue Hills forest and the Middlesex wilds,—while it was yet practicable so to do it at a moderate cost; and having thus secured them for all time, to keep depredators, wood-choppers and fire out of them, leaving the great and costly work of development to the twentieth century and future generations. Nature, I felt, declined to be hurried.

"As is usually the case, the thing once started got away from me. The landscape architects, the committees and my colleagues could not wait, but all rushed into plans of immediate and very costly development and maintenance. . . . Every city and town ran to the Legislature asking to have something done within its limits; and payday was deferred on the ingenious pretext that the cost could not be fairly apportioned until the scheme was fully developed . . . I soon got tired of the task, which took so much of my time; and, also, I was frightened. It seemed to me premature development at excessive cost. So, in June 1895, I resigned" (Memorabilia, 16 Sept. 1900). For a more favorable assessment of his work in conservation see his *Autobiography*, p. 185-186.

"Report of the Committee on Composition and Rhetoric to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from Feb. 6, 1890 to Jan. 8, 1902 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1902, p. 275-287. [252]

Signed by CFA2, E. L. Godkin, and George R. Nutter, April 1895.

"Report of the Public Improvement Committee." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1894-1895]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1895, p. 39. [253]

CFA2 moved from Quincy to Lincoln in November 1893; see his *Autobiography*, p. 202-204; also *A Milestone Planted* (No. 336), p. 96-98.

[Size of the Society, 1857 and 1877.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 10 (1895-1896):315-327. [254]

See also No. 211.

## 1896

[Address to the Massachusetts Historical Society on taking the chair as President, 9 April 1896.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 10 (1895-1896):573-585. [255]

On past accomplishments and future policies of the Society. CFA2 held this office until his death in the Spring of 1915.

"The Battle of Long Island." *American Historical Review*, 1:650-670 (July 1896). [256]

Also a separate with unchanged pagination. Revised and combined with "The Weems Dispensation" (No. 393), this essay was included in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400) under the title above. "Finished the draught of my Long Island. . . . As I read these carefully studied accounts what a tissue of misrepresentation history becomes as it emerges from the influence of theology, patriotism and ancestor-worship!" (Diary, 4 Jan. 1896.)

[The election of 1896.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 11 (1896-1897):110-118. [257]

"Extracts from a Letter Dated September 10th, 1896, from a Distinguished American. Giving His Reasons for Voting for McKinleyism as the Lesser of Two Evils," [source unknown,] p. 9-10. [258]

Tear sheet in CFA2's Scrapbook [1], from a source identified only by CFA2's note there which reads: "This was from a copy of a letter to Carl Schurz; it was published in London in a circular letter of Robert Benson dated Oct. 26, 1896."

"Remarks." *Souvenir of the Dedicatory Exercises at the New Norfolk County Court House at Dedham, Mass., June 20, 1895. Together with an Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Several Court Houses and Biographical Sketches of the Leading Participants.* Boston: C. H. Heintzemann, 1896, p. 41-42. [259]

"Report of Committee on Schoolhouse." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1895-1896]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1896, p. 57-62. [260]

[Report of the Committee on Composition and Rhetoric to the Harvard Board of Overseers upon the protest of the masters of four preparatory schools, 12 Oct. 1896.] n.p.: Printed for members of the Board of Overseers [1896]. 10 p. [261]

Signed by CFA2, E. L. Godkin, and George R. Nutter; also includes Moses Merrill et al. to Board of Overseers, Boston, 26 June 1896.

"Report of the Committee on Public Improvements." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1895-1896]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1896, p. 45-46. [262]

Signed by CFA2 and two others.

See also Nos. 227 and 248.

## 1897

[Introductory address on the incidents of the year.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 12 (1897-1899):55-72. [263]

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1896-1897]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1897, p. 52-56. [264]

"Report of the Committee on Composition and Rhetoric to the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, June 1897." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from Feb. 6, 1890 to Jan. 8, 1902 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1902, p. 401-517. [265]

Signed by CFA2, E. L. Godkin, and George R. Nutter. Also a separate with unchanged pagination.

"Report of the Committee on Public Improvements." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1896-1897]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1897, p. 69-72. [266]

[Report of the] *Special Committee* [of the Harvard Board of Overseers] *Appointed to Revise the List of Visiting Committees of the Board for the Current Academic Year.* n.p., [1897]. 8 p. [267]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman.

See also No. 205.

## 1898

*Addresses of Hon. Charles Francis Adams and Hon. George G. Crocker Delivered before the Legislative Committee on Taxation, in March, 1893, and the Letter of Enoch Enskey.* [Boston]: Massachusetts Anti-Double-Taxation League, 1898. [2]-13, [2]-15, [2], [2]-19, [1] p. [268]

Reprint of No. 238.

"The Influence of Puritanism on Our National Life." *Christian Register,* 77:898-901, 927-928 (11, 18 Aug. 1898). [269]

Delivered at the bicentennial of the First Parish, Weston, 26 Jan. 1898 and printed in *An Account of the Celebration by the First Parish of Weston, Massachusetts, of Its Two Hundredth Anniversary,* Weston, 1900, p. 197-209. "I went over to the church at Weston to take part in their 200th Anniversary,—an act of pure good nature, having nothing to say, and no interest in it" (Diary, 26 Jan. 1898).

"Majority Report." *Reports of the Special Committee* [of the Harvard Board of Overseers] *on the Requirements for Admission to Harvard College and the Lawrence Scientific School.* n.p., [1898], p. 1-12. [270]

Signed by CFA2 and three others.

[On the publication of new editions of Bradford's *History* and Winthrop's *History.*] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 12 (1897-1899):169-172. [271]

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1897-1898]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1898, p. 60-65. [272]

"Report of the Committee on Public Improvements." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1897-1898]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1898, p. 66. [273]

*Report of the Special Committee Appointed to Investigate the Relations Between Cities and Towns and Street Railway Companies, February 1898.* Mass. Documents, House, No. 475. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., State Printers, 1898. 296 p. [274]

See also No. 231.

## 1899

[Historians and Historical Societies.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 13 (1899-1900):81-119. [275]

Also separate: *Historians and Historical Societies: An Address at the Opening of the Fenway Building of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April 13, 1899,* Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1899, 41 p. Another edition with slight changes but same imprint (copy presented to M. H. S. by CFA2, 4 Aug. 1899, has notation by author on title page mentioning changes at p. 7, 16, 25, 26). See also Andrew F. West's satire in verse occasioned by this address: *Boston, By A. F. W. Read at the Christmas Luncheon of the G*[in] *M*[ill] *C*[lub], *New York, December 23, 1899,* [New York: The Gilliss Press, 1899], 15 p. (copy in Boston Public Library).

*"Imperialism" and "the Tracks of Our Forefathers"; a Paper Read by Charles*

*Francis Adams before the Lexington, Massachusetts, Historical Society, Tuesday, December 20, 1898.* Boston: D. Estes & Company, 1899. 37 p. [276]

[The influence of Voltaire on history.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 13 (1899-1900):156-161. [277]

[The Laird Rams.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 13 (1899-1900): 177-197. [278]

Revised as "An Historical Residuum" in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

[On Carl Schurz,] [source unknown]:1-4 (1899). [279]

Note in CFA2's hand on tear sheets in Scrapbook [3]: "New York, March 2, 1899."

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1898-1899].Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1899, p. 61-63. [280]

"Report of the Committee on Public Improvements." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1898-1899]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1899, p. 64-65. [281]

## 1900

*Charles Francis Adams, by His Son, Charles Francis Adams.* American Statesmen, John T. Morse, Jr., ed., vol. 29. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1900. vii, 426 p. [282]

Standard library edition, reprinted in 1908, 1909, and 1917. A large paper edition of 500 copies was issued in 1900; the author's own copy of this edition, interleaved, bound in two volumes, and containing numerous corrections and insertions, is in M. H. S. According to the Preface, "The following sketch is . . . in part a preliminary study, and in part the condensed abstract of a larger and more detailed work already far advanced in preparation." CFA2 had been studying his father's manuscript diary and correspondence since at least 1890 in preparation for the more comprehensive work, which was to be documentary in character and possibly on the scale of Nicolay and Hay's ten-volume *Lincoln.* "My plan of a *magnum opus* was to write what would have been a diplomatic history of the Civil War" (*Autobiography*, p. 206). Much of his great energy during his old age was spent in research and writing on this *magnum opus.* He hired assistants to copy documents in Washington, London, and Paris; he lectured on and finished and published short monographs on special aspects of Civil War diplomacy; and he wrote and revised many chapters of his documentary biography. But on 25 March 1915 J. Franklin Jameson wrote Lord Bryce: ". . . it is pathetic, even tragic, that . . . in the field of history, where we all felt his powers to be greater than any one thing he had yet written, he should not have lived to have finished his great book" (Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock, eds., *An Historian's World*, Philadelphia, 1956, p. 179).

[Current events, 1900.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 14 (1900-1901):256-267. [283]

[Examinations for Harvard.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 14 (1900-1901):198-203. [284]

Reprinted in two articles, each with its own title, in *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* (No. 296 and 297).

"Favors Single Tax: Hon. C. F. Adams Thinks It Just." *National Single Taxer*, 9:3-4 (Dec. 1900). [285]

Consists of a letter to the President of the Massachusetts Single Tax League.

[Letter to John F. Farrer, chairman, Board of Selectmen, Lincoln, Mass.] n.p., n.d. 2 p. [286]

Letter dated 22 Nov. 1900, enclosing other letters (here printed) concerning proposed street railway franchises in Lincoln.

[Letter to John Farrer, Edward F. Flint, and Charles S. Smith, Selectmen of the Town of Lincoln, Mass.] n.p., n.d. 3 p. [287]

Letter dated 3 Oct. 1900 concerning proposed street railway franchises in Lincoln.

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1899-1900]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1900, p. 67-70. [288]

[Report of the special committee of the Harvard Board of Overseers to revise the list of committees appointed by the Board to visit the several departments.] n.p., [1900]. 2 p. [289]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman and dated 28 Nov. 1900.

*Report on the Number of Courses Required for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts* [in Harvard College]. n.p., [1900]. 10 p. [290]

Signed by CFA2 and four others and dated 11 April 1900; includes additional reports by William Everett and B. S. Hurlbut.

*The Sifted Grain and the Grain Sifters. An Address at the Dedication of the Building of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Madison, October 19, 1900.* Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1900. 67 p. [291]

An interpretation of the nation's and Wisconsin's history in light of Darwin's theory of evolution. Reprinted in the *American Historical Review*, 6:197-234 (Jan. 1901), and in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Exercises at the Dedication of Its New Building*, Madison, 1901, p. 37-78. See the Charleston, South Carolina, *Year-book, 1900*, for extensive anonymous remarks about this speeh (p. 65-81).

[Sir Edward Pakenham and the battle of New Orleans.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 13 (1899-1900):412-423. [292]

Revised and enlarged in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400) under the title "The Battle of New Orleans."

See also No. 269.

## 1901

[The assassination of President McKinley and the cordial feeling of Great Britain towards the United States.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 15 (1901-1902):183-193. [293]

Included in *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers* (No. 310) as "The British Change of Heart."

*The Confederacy and the Transvaal: A People's Obligation to Robert E. Lee . . . ; a Paper Read Before the Ameri-*

*can Antiquarian Society, at Its Annual Meeting in Worcester, Massachusetts, Wednesday, October 30th, 1901.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. 25 p. [294]

Another edition, London: Gay and Bird, 1902. Also in American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, new ser., 14 (1902): 429-451, and included in *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers* (No. 310) with title "Lee at Appomattox." See also Sydney George Fisher's *The American Revolution and the Boer War; an Open Letter to Mr. Charles Francis Adams on His Pamphlet "The Confederacy and the Transvaal"* (Philadelphia, 1902).

"Greetings from Sister Historical Societies." Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Exercises at the Dedication of Its New Building, October 19, 1900.* Madison: Democrat Printing Company, 1901, p. 25-28. [295]

"A Harvard Examination in 1757." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 9: 348-349 (March 1901). [296]

Reprinted from a contribution to M. H. S., *Proceedings* (No. 284). "1757" is a misprint for 1751; the examination was that of John Adams, recorded in his Autobiography. See also No. 297.

"Harvard Examinations in 1821 and 1837." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 9:491-495 (June 1901). [297]

Reprinted from a contribution to M. H. S., *Proceedings* (No. 284). See also No. 296.

[Honorary members of the Massachusetts Society.] *Nation*, 73:493 (26 Dec. 1901). [298]

Unsigned news note but in Scrapbook [No. 3].

"Plea for Military History." *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1900.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901. Vol. 1:195-218. [299]

Also a separate with unchanged pagination. Read at the annual meeting of the Association in Boston, 28 Dec. 1899. Revised version included in *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers* (No. 310).

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1900-1901]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1901, p. 90-92. [300]

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College From Feb. 6, 1890, to Jan. 8, 1902 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1902, p. 631-633. [301]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman and dated 13 Nov. 1901.

"Testimony of Hon. Charles Francis Adams on Street Railroads, Feb. 20, 1901," [source unknown,] p. 824-830. [302]

Tear sheets in Scrapbook [1].

*What Hon. Charles Francis Adams Says of the Single Tax.* [Boston]: Massachusetts Single Tax League, 1901. 4 p. [303]

Includes letter to the President of the League, Boston, 3 Dec. 1900, and exchange of letters between A. P. Gardner and CFA2, 27 Dec. 1900–1 Jan. 1901.

See also No. 291.

## 1902

*As to the First Church in Plymouth.* Boston, 1902. 4 p. [304]

Signed at Boston, 28 Oct. 1902, by CFA2 and six others. An attempt to discredit an appeal issued by the Church of the Pilgrimage, Plymouth, for funds to erect a tricentennial memorial to the Puritans to rival the memorial erected by the First Church from which the Church of the Pilgrimage had seceded in the early 19th century.

*Before and After the Treaty of Washington: The American Civil War and the War in the Transvaal; an Address Delivered before the New York Historical Society on Its Ninety-Seventh Anniversary, Tuesday, November 19, 1901.* New York: Printed for the Society, 1902. 141 p. [305]

Included in *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers* (No. 310) as "The Treaty of Washington Before and After." Compressed in delivery so as to occupy one hour. Subsequently revised, it supplied material for four Lowell Institute lectures, 3, 6, 10, 13 Dec. 1901.

[Diary of John Quincy Adams while a law student in Newburyport.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 16 (1902):291-464. [306]

Published separately as *Life in a New England Town* . . . (No. 325). Consists of entries from 9 August 1787 through 18 September 1789 not included in the 12-volume edition of the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* edited by CFA2's father, 1874-1877. The elaborate annotation was largely the work of Miss J. C. Watts, to whom acknowledgment is made at the end of CFA2's prefatory note.

*Investigation and Publicity as Opposed to "Compulsory Arbitration". . . . A Paper Read before the American Civic Federation at Its Meeting in New York, Monday, December 8, 1902.* Boston, 1902. 14 p. [307]

Reprinted as "A Remedy for Strikes" (No. 327) in *Cassier's Magazine* and in U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. *Investigation of Controversies Affecting Interstate Commerce . . . Report.* 59th Congress, 2d Session, House, Report 8077. [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907,] p. 2-7; and same, 60th Congress, 1st Session, House, Report 621 (1908), p. 3-7.

[John Quincy Adams and martial law.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 15 (1901-1902):436-478. [308]

For a reprint see No. 309.

*John Quincy Adams, His Connection with the Monroe Doctrine (1823) by Worthington Chauncey Ford, and with Emancipation under Martial Law (1819-1842) by Charles Francis Adams.* Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1902. 113 p. [309]

CFA2's paper first appeared in M. H. S., *Proceedings* (No. 308).

*Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1902. 387 p. [310]

Contains: "Lee at Appomattox" (No. 294); "The Treaty of Washington: Before and After" (No. 305); "The British Change of Heart" (No. 293); "An Undeveloped Function" (No. 318); "A Plea for Military History" (No. 299). A 2d enlarged edn. (Boston, 1903, 442 p.) with the same imprint and "Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?" (No. 315) added. "As the results of a years work, I have put before the public at least one printed page for every day in that year; for this volume represents only a part of my activity,—the rest, can be dug up in the columns of newspapers and the Proceedings of the Mass. Historical Society. A printed page for every day in the year! What an awful record! Has any man any business to so inflict himself on an indifferent world?" (Memorabilia, 18 May 1902).

[Letter to Moorfield Storey and Julian Codman, Boston, 29 Aug. 1902.] *Secretary Root's Record. "Marked Severities" in Philippine Warfare. An Analysis of the Law and Facts Bearing on the Action and Utterances of President Roosevelt and Secretary Root.* Boston: Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1902, p. 3-4. [311]

Signed by CFA2, Carl Schurz, Edwin B. Smith and Herbert Welsh; written from CFA2's office.

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1901-1902]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1902, p. 63-64. [312]

"Report of the Committee on Condition of Water Works." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1901-1902]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1902, p. 111-115. [313]

"Finished the Lincoln Water Works report,—that nightmare is cast off!" (Diary, 4 Feb. 1902).

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College From January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 705-708. Signed by CFA2 as chairman. [314]

*"Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?" Oration . . . before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of the University of Chicago, Tuesday, June 17, 1902.* Boston: C. E. Lauriat Co., 1902. 44 p. [315]

On reasons for erecting a monument to Robert E. Lee in Washington, D. C. Included in *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers* (No. 310) and in *Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses* (No. 372).

*Speech of Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, December 22, 1902, at the Banquet of the New England Society of Charleston, South Carolina.* Boston: Press of A. Mudge & Son, [1902]. 20 p. [316]

Reprinted as "The Constitutional Ethics of Secession" with "War Is Hell" (No. 322). Revised in M. H. S., *Proceedings* (No. 331) and in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

"To the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, Lake George, New York, July 22, 1902." *City and State,* 13:[1-4], Supplement (31 July 1902). [317]

Letter on Philippine atrocities signed by CFA2, Carl Schurz, Edwin B. Smith, and Herbert Welsh. Drafted by CFA2 and discussed at Lake George with the other signers. According to CFA2, very few changes were made (Memorabilia, 26 July 1902).

"An Undeveloped Function." *American Historical Review,* 7:203-232 (Jan. 1902). [318]

A plea for the discussion, from the historical point of view, of current political issues at the meetings of the American Historical Association; delivered as the Presidential address before the Association in Washington, 27 Dec. 1901. Also separate with unchanged pagination; reprinted in *Annual Report* of the Association for 1901, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1902, p. 47-93. Included in *Lee at Appomattox and Other Papers* (No. 310).

See also No. 294.

## 1903

[An alleged interview between Queen Victoria and the American minister to Great Britain during the Civil War.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 17 (1903):439-448. [319]

With two other papers (Nos. 338 and 358), this forms the substance of "Queen Victoria and the Civil War" in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

"Apportionment Commission: Memorandum of Explanation of the Grounds of Commissioners' Allotment of Metropolitan Park District Expenses among the Several Municipalities Composing the District, and of the Process and Computations through Which the Several Percentages Were Fixed." *Report of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commissioners, January 1903.* Mass. Documents, Public, No. 48. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1903, p. 89-102. [320]

Signed by CFA2.

[The battle of Salamis.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 17 (1903): 383-406. [321]

*The Constitutional Ethics of Secession, and "War Is Hell"; Two Speeches of Charles Francis Adams Delivered Respectively at Charleston, S. C., December 22, 1902 and at New York, January 26, 1903.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903. 41 p. [322]

" 'War Is Hell' " delivered at the thirteenth annual dinner of the Confederate Veterans' Camp of New York. See Nos. 316 and 331 for variants of "The Constitutional Ethics of Secession."

[Herodotus and Marathon.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 17 (1903): 247-262. [323]

"Introduction." Elizabeth Porter Gould, *John Adams and Daniel Webster as Schoolmasters.* Boston: The Palmer Company, [1903], p. 3-5. [324]

*Life in a New England Town: 1787, 1788. Diary of John Quincy Adams, While a Student in the Office of Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1903. 204 p. [325]

Introduction signed "C. F. A." Reprinted from text contributed to M. H. S., *Proceedings* (No. 306).

*Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States* [praying for the preservation of the frigate *Constitution.*] Boston, 1903. 4 p. [326]

Signed by the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society (CFA2 and twelve others). Reprinted in No. 332.

"A Remedy for Strikes. Investigation and Publicity as Opposed to Compulsory Arbitration." *Cassier's Magazine*, 23:558-565 (Feb. 1903). [327]

Originally published with this subtitle as the main title (No. 307).

"Report of Advisory Committee on History." Carnegie Institution of Washington, *Year Book No. 1, 1902*. Washington, 1903, p. 226-231. [328]

Signed by CFA2, J. Franklin Jameson, and A. C. McLaughlin. The real author was Jameson.

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1902-1903]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1903, p. 113-115. [329]

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909, Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 735-738. Signed by CFA2 as chairman. [330]

['Tis 40 years since and the constitutional ethics of secession.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 17 (1903): 90-116. [331]

Preliminary remarks on CFA2's trip to Charleston, S. C., Dec. 1902, where he originally delivered the address on the constitutional ethics of secession, followed by a revised text of the address. The revision, minus the preliminary remarks, included in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400). See also Nos. 316 and 322.

See also No. 227.

## 1904

*The Frigate* Constitution. [Boston, 1904.] 7 p. [332]

Contains: Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, Boston, 31 Dec. 1903, signed by the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society (No. 326); W. H. Moody, Secretary of Navy to CFA2, Washington, 20 Jan. 1904; CFA2 to W. H. Moody, Boston, 26 Jan. 1904. See also Nos. 356 and 359.

*The Harvard Tuition Fee: Its Proposed Increase. Corrected, Revised, and Enlarged.* [Boston, 1904.] 48 p. [333]

Reprinted, with revisions and added appendix of related material, from the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* (No. 337).

[Honorary members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.] *Nation*, 78:472 (16 June 1904). [334]

Unsigned news note; in CFA2's Scrapbook [No. 3].

*Kansas City: Its Problems and Their Solution. Speech . . . at the Annual Dinner of the Commercial Club of Kansas City, Friday Evening, Nov. 18, 1904.* Kansas City, 1904. 18 p. [335]

*A Milestone Planted. Address Delivered By Charles Francis Adams at Lincoln, Massachusetts, April 23, 1904. . . .* Limited Edition. Cambridge: Privately Printed at The Riverside Press, 1904. 53 p. [336]

Fifty copies printed for private circulation and correction (letter of the author to S. A. Green, 3 Sept. 1904, laid in the M. H. S. copy). Expanded in *An Account of the Celebration By the*

*Town of Lincoln . . . of the 150th Anniversary of Its Incorporation, 1754-1904* (Lincoln, 1905, p. 12-146). This in turn was reprinted separately in 1906 as *A Milestone Planted. Address of Charles Francis Adams . . .*, with new pagination and no imprint.

"The Proposed Increase of the Tuition Fee." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 13:6-22 (Sept. 1904). [337]

Also separate with no imprint paged 1-17 and a revised and enlarged edition (No. 333). The original text is included in *Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses* (No. 372).

[Queen Victoria and the Civil War.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 18 (1903-1904):123-154. [338]

Along with two other papers (Nos. 319 and 358), this forms the substance of an essay by the same name in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

*Report of a Special Committee of the* [Harvard] *Board of Overseers on the Financial Requirements of the University and the Deficit Incurred during Recent Years.* n.p., [1904]. 15 p. [339]

Signed by CFA2 and two others and dated 16 March 1904.

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1903-1904]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1904, p. 150-153. [340]

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Regulations." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College From January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909, Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 793-795. [341]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman and dated 23 Nov. 1904.

"Report of Trustees of the Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1903-1904]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1904, p. 137-147. [342]

*The Richard Cobden Centennial. Speech . . . at the Dinner of the Free Trade League at the Hotel Vendome, Boston . . . June 3, 1904.* n.p., [1904]. 7 p. [343]

## 1905

"Hawthorne's Place in Literature." Thomas Wentworth Higginson, ed. *The Hawthorne Centenary Celebration at the Wayside, Concord, Massachusetts, July 4-7, 1904.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1905, p. 42-76. [344]

[John Quincy Adams in the Twenty-second Congress.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 19 (1905): 504-553. [345]

Reprinted as *John Quincy Adams, and Speaker Andrew Stevenson . . .* (No. 357).

"Letter from Charles Francis Adams." *The Taxation of Ground Rent. Resolved: That It Would Be Sound Public Policy to Make the Future Increase in Ground Rent a Subject of Special Taxation. Extracts from the Eleventh Dinner-Discussion of the Eco-*

*nomics Club of Boston, April 27, 1905*. Boston: Massachusetts Single Tax League, 1905, p. 3. [346]

Extracts from a letter to those attending the meeting, 27 April 1905.

"Letter from Hon. Charles Francis Adams Relative to Early Town Records." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1904-1905]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby Co., 1905, p. 82-85. [347]

CFA2 to Board of Selectmen, Town of Lincoln, 6 Jan. 1905.

[Mr. Rhodes' fifth volume.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 19 (1905): 311-356. [348]

Reprinted separately as *Some Phases of the Civil War* (No. 353), and included in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

"Report of the Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1904-1905]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby Co., 1905, p. 132-133. [349]

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions on the Report of the Committee on English Literature." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College From January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 835-837. [350]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman and dated 11 Oct. 1905.

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions on the Report of the Committee to Visit the Museum of Comparative Zoology and the Committee on Zoology." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College From January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 862-863.

Signed by CFA2. [351]

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 839-843. [352]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman and dated 27 Oct. 1905.

*Some Phases of the Civil War; an Appreciation and Criticism of Mr. James Ford Rhodes's Fifth Volume.* Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1905. 46 p. [353]

Reprinted from No. 348. A [2d edn.], Cambridge, John Wilson and Son, 1906, is numbered p. 313-356. A note added to the verso of the title page explains: "For convenience of reference, both the running titles and the pagination of the Society's publication have been preserved in this reprint. The first three and a half pages of the original have been recast and reset, appearing here in a greatly condensed form."

*Wessagusset and Weymouth, an Historical Address by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Delivered at Weymouth, July 4, 1874, on the Occasion of the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Permanent Settlement of the Town. Weymouth in Its First Twenty Years, a Paper Read before the Society by Gilbert Nash,* *November 1, 1882. Weymouth Thirty Years Later, a Paper Read by Charles Francis Adams, before the Weymouth Historical Society, September 23, 1904.* Weymouth Historical Society, Publication No. 3. Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1905. 163 p. [354]

For the 1874 printing of "Wessagusset and Weymouth" see No. 60.

## 1906

"Committee on Claims." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1905-1906]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1906, p. 116-118. [355]

*The Frigate* Constitution. Boston, 1906. 11 p. [356]

Contains: Memorials to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, Boston, 11 Jan. 1906, signed by the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society (CFA2 and twelve others), and Boston, 31 Dec. 1903, unsigned; editorial in the *Boston Herald*, 30 Aug. 1904 (probably by CFA2), entitled "Sunday, Aug. 30, 1812." See also Nos. 326, 332 and 359.

*John Quincy Adams, and Speaker Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia; an Episode of the Twenty-Second Congress (1832).* Cambridge: J. Wilson and Son, 1906, p. 504-553. [357]

Originally printed in M. H. S., *Proceedings* (No. 345).

[Lord Granville and the attitude of Great Britain toward the United States during the Civil War.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 20 (1906-1907):453-474. [358]

A supplementary note to [Queen Victoria and the Civil War] (No. 338). These two papers and another (No. 319) form the substance of "Queen Victoria and the Civil War" in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

[Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, Boston, 11 Jan. 1906.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 2d ser., 20 (1906-1907):3-5. [359]

Signed by the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society (CFA2 and twelve others). Also an unsigned and undated 4 p. separate with no imprint and included in No. 356. See also Nos. 326 and 332.

"Reflex Light from Africa." *Century Magazine*, 72:101-111 (May 1906). [360]

Originally read as a paper to the Massachusetts Historical Society, 8 June 1905, under title of "Some Notes Made in Africa on the British Occupation of Egypt and the Soudan, and on the Status of the African in the Upper Nile Region," but not printed in *Proceedings*.

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions on the Report of the Committee on Engineering." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909 Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 854. [361]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman and dated 10 Jan. 1906.

"Report of the Committee on Reports and Resolutions." *Reports of the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College from January 8, 1902, to July 30, 1909*

*Inclusive.* Cambridge: Published by the University, 1909, p. 949-953. [362]

Signed by CFA2 as chairman, 21 Nov. 1906.

"Report of the Trustees of Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1905-1906]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1906, p. 74-75. [363]

"Some Present Collegiate Tendencies." *Educational Review,* 32:132-156 (Sept. 1906). [364]

Included as "Some Modern College Tendencies" in *Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses* (No. 372). Delivered at Columbia University, 12 June 1906, as CFA2 was drawing to the close of his long term as a Harvard overseer. This speech was the first step in his and Moorfield Storey's scheme to stir up an alumni-sponsored investigation of President Eliot's methods; see Memorabilia, 17 June 1906, 12 May 1907.

[The Treaty of Paris seal.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 20 (1906-1907):84-86. [365]

An explanation of CFA2's bookplate bearing the Boylston coat of arms from a seal which John Adams had used when signing the Treaty of Paris.

See also Nos. 336 and 352.

## 1907

[Address at the unveiling of a bust of James Savage.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 20 (1906-1907): 232-244. [366]

[The centennial of the birth of General Lee.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 20 (1906-1907):550-555. [367]

Concerning the Lee centennial celebration at Lexington, Virginia; see No. 369.

[James Williams' *Rise and Fall of the Model Republic,* London, 1863.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 20 (1906-1907):253-256. [368]

*Lee's Centennial; an Address . . . , Delivered at Lexington, Virginia, Saturday, January 19, 1907, on the Invitation of the President and Faculty of Washington and Lee University.* n.p., [1907]. 76 p. [369]

Other edns., Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, [1907], 76 p.; Richmond: Trevvett, Christian & Co., n.d., 24 p. Also printed in the Washington and Lee University, *Summer Bulletin,* 6:6-28 (July 1907). Included in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400). See also Nos. 367 and 389.

[Longfellow as an historical poet.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 2d ser., 20 (1906-1907):573-582. [370]

"Report of Trustees of Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1906-1907]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby & Co., 1907, p. 144. [371]

*Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses: A College Fetich, 1883; "Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?" 1902; Some Modern College Tendencies, 1906.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907. vi, 200 p. [372]

In addition to reprinting these three

addresses (Nos. 162, 315, 364) the collection includes: a "Supplementary Note" to "Some Modern College Tendencies," dated 30 Nov. 1906; "The Journeyman's Retrospect" (No. 250); "The Harvard Tuition Fee" (No. 337); "The Fiftieth Year, 1856-1906" (speech at the Harvard Alumni Dinner, Commencement Day, 27 June, 1906, not published separately).

*To the Descendants of the Rev. John Cotton.* [Boston, 1907.] 6 p. [373]

A letter explaining progress on the Cotton Memorial, First Church in Boston, dated Boston, 26 Sept. 1907, and signed by CFA2 and John E. Thayer. Reprinted in *John Cotton, 1585-1633-1652* (No. 374).

See also Nos. 9 and 307.

## 1908

"Address of Presentation." *John Cotton, 1585-1633-1652: Exercises at the Unveiling of the John Cotton Memorial in the Berkeley Street Edifice of the First Church in Boston, Thursday, October 10, 1907.* Boston: Nathan Sawyer & Son, 1908, p. 42-53. [374]

See also No. 373.

*"Licenses to Steal" and "the Great Washington Protection Trough." An Open Letter . . . to Hon. Samuel W. McCall. . . .* [Boston, 1908.] 2 p. [375]

On the tariff issue; dated Boston, 16 Nov. 1908. Also in the *Free Trade Broadside,* 2:1-2 (Jan. 1909).

[Lincoln's offer to Garibaldi.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 3d ser., 1 (1907-1908):319-325. [376]

Also in *Magazine of History,* 7:159-165 (March 1908).

"Report of the Trustees of the Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1907-1908]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby Co., 1908, p. 133-136. [377]

*"The Solid South" and the Afro-American Race Problem. Speech . . . at the Academy of Music, Richmond, Va., Saturday Evening, 24 October, 1908.* Boston, [1908]. 20 p. [378]

[Thompson's Island and Squantum.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 3d ser., 1 (1907-1908):532-540. [379]

See also Nos. 282 and 307.

## 1909

"Absolute Free Trade Exemplified." *Free Trade Broadside,* 2:2 (Jan. 1909). [380]

From remarks at a Free Trade League dinner, 3 June 1904.

"Address [at the laying of the cornerstone]." American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings,* new ser., 20 (1909):8-16. [381]

Also separate, Worcester: The Davis Press, 1909, 11 p.

*John Quincy, Master of Mount Wollaston; Provincial Statesman; Colonel of the Suffolk Regiment; Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives; Member of His Majesty's Council; An Address Delivered Sunday, February 23, 1908, under the Auspices of the Quincy Historical Society.* By Daniel Munro Wilson. Prepared in Collaboration with Charles Francis Adams. Boston: G. H. Ellis Co., 1909. 84 p. [382]

[Lincoln's first inauguration and Milton's impress on the provincial literature of New England.] M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 42 (1908-1909):145-170. [383]

The remarks on Lincoln were preliminary to those on Milton.

"Report of the Trustees of the Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1908-1909]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby Co., 1909, p. 120-121. [384]

*Report to the President by the Committee on Department Methods on the Documentary Historical Publications of the U. S. Government.* [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909.] 41 p. [385]

Dated 24 Nov. 1908 and signed by Worthington C. Ford, chairman; CFA2; J. Franklin Jameson, secretary; and other members of the "Assistant Committee on the Documentary Publications of the United States Government." Also published with President Theodore Roosevelt's *Message*, 11 Feb. 1909, transmitting the report and the draft of a proposed bill for the creation of a permanent commission on national historical publications (60th Congress, 2d Session, Senate, Doc. 714. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909. 45 p.). The report was the work of Jameson.

See also Nos. 282 and 375.

## 1910

"The Campaign of 1777." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 44 (1910-1911): 13-65. [386]

Reprinted in U. S. Cavalry Association, *Journal*, 22:913-965 (May 1911). Revised as "The Revolutionary Campaign of 1777" in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

"Cavalry in the War of Independence." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 43 (1909-1910):547-593. [387]

Reprinted in U. S. Cavalry Association, *Journal*, 22:695-743 (Jan. 1911). Revised as "Washington and Cavalry" in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

"Contemporary Opinion on the Howes." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 44 (1910-1911):94-120. [388]

"From Thoreau to Confucius via Abingdon, Virginia." M. H. S. *Proceedings*, 43 (1909-1910):473-477. [389]

On the source of a quotation CFA2 had used in *Lee's Centennial* (No. 369).

[Remarks at the opening of the new building of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 7 April 1910.] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 34:302-309 (July 1910). [390]

On the preservation of documents.

"Report of the Trustees of the Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1909-1910]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby Co., 1910, p. 117-119. [391]

"Virginia's Position in February, 1861; Far Reaching Importance of Her Declaration for Union." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 18:92-96 (Jan. 1910). [392]

Consists of a letter to Beverly B. Munford dated Boston, 26 Nov. 1909.

"The Weems Dispensation." M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 44 (1910-1911): 233-253. [393]

This paper and "The Battle of Long Island" (No. 256) provided the substance of "Battle of Long Island" in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (No. 400).

## 1911

"General Craufurd's March [1809]." M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 44 (1910-1911):296-304. [394]

"The Most Critical Episode in the Civil War." *Independent,* 70:32-35 (5 Jan. 1911). [395]

On the interval between 14 Sept. and 23 Oct. 1862. This paper was read before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

*The Panama Canal Zone; an Epochal Event in Sanitation.* Boston, 1911. 38 p. [396]

Originally "To the Canal Zone and Back" (No. 402). A second edition paged 609-646 with note on verso of title page: "For convenience of reference, both the running titles and the pagination of the Society's publication have been preserved in this reprint. The first two pages of the original have been reset and recast."

"Pensions—Worse and More of Them." *World's Work,* 23:188-196 (Dec. 1911); 327-334 (Jan. 1912); 385-398 (Feb. 1912). [397]

Also a separate with title *The Civil-War Pension Lack-of-System* (No. 406).

"Report of the Committee to Draft Resolutions upon the Death of Samuel H. Pierce." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1910-1911]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby Co., 1911, p. 16-17. [398]

"Report of the Trustees of the Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1910-1911]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby C., 1911, p. 118. [399]

*Studies Military and Diplomatic, 1775-1865.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. v, 424 p. [400]

Contains: "The Battle of Bunker Hill" (No. 248); "Battle of Long Island" (Nos. 256 and 393); "Washington and Cavalry" (No. 387); "The Revolutionary Campaign of 1777" (No. 386); "The Battle of New Orleans" (No. 292); "The Ethics of Secession" (No. 331); "Some Phases of the Civil War" (No. 348); "Lee's Centennial" (No. 369); "An Historical Residuum" (No. 278); "Queen Victoria and the Civil War" (Nos. 319, 338, 358).

[The tissue of history.] M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 45 (1911-1912):7-15. [401]

On the historical importance of events in the summer of 1911. See also No. 424.

"To the Canal Zone and Back." M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 44 (1910-1911):610-646. [402]

Reprinted separately as *The Panama Canal Zone* (No. 396).

"The Trent Affair." M. H. S., *Proceedings,* 45 (1911-1912):35-148. [403]

Also a separate, *The Trent Affair, An Historical Retrospect,* Boston, 1912, 44 p., which omits documents from the correspondence of Charles Francis Adams and others which were included in the M. H. S., *Proceedings*. Reprinted, also without documents, in *American Historical Review*, 17:540-562 (April 1912) and in *Magazine of History*, 20:90-98, 141-157 (Feb., March 1915). Originally delivered before the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, 6 Dec. 1911. See No. 405 for a supplementary note.

See also Nos. 386 and 387.

## 1912

"Address of Mr. Charles Francis Adams." *Navy*, 6:56-59, Supplement (March 1912). [404]

Delivered before the Navy League Peace Meeting, 23 Feb. 1912, in Washington, D. C.

"The [Charles] Wilkes Sword." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 45 (1911-1912):589-592. [405]

A supplemental note to "The Trent Affair" (No. 403).

*The Civil-War Pension Lack-of-System, a Four-Thousand-Million Record of Legislative Incompetence Tending to General Political Corruption.* n.p., [1912]. iv, 59 p. [406]

Originally printed in *World's Work* as "Pensions—Worse and More of Them" (No. 397).

"Course of Historical Events." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 46 (1912-1913): 2-11. [407]

"The Kingdom of Accomac." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 45 (1911-1912): 593-602. [408]

"Letter to H. C. Lodge re Pension System." *Congressional Record*, 48: 4342 (2 April 1912). [409]

Letter dated Washington, 6 March 1912.

"The Negotiation of 1861 Relating to the Declaration of Paris of 1856." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 46 (1912-1913):23-84. [410]

Separately printed with title *Seward and the Declaration of Paris* (No. 412).

"The Oxford Course of American Lectures." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 46 (1912-1913):432-440. [411]

See No. 421.

*Seward and the Declaration of Paris; a Forgotten Diplomatic Episode, April-August, 1861.* Boston, 1912. 61 p. [412]

Originally in M. H. S., *Proceedings* with title "The Negotiation of 1861 . . . (No. 410).

"Trustee's Report of Lincoln Public Library." *Report . . . of the Town of Lincoln* [1911-1912]. Boston: Geo. E. Crosby Co., 1912, p. 136-139. [413]

See also Nos. 403 and 441.

## 1913

"Correspondence of John Quincy Adams, 1811-1814." American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, new ser., 23 (1913):110-169. [414]

Also separate: Worcester, 1913, 62 p. See also No. 417. The letters are drawn from the Adams Papers.

"Harvard and Oxford: Contrasts." *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 22:

29-31 (Sept. 1913). [415]

Consists of portions of an interview published in the *Boston Transcript*, 19 July 1913, and revised by CFA2.

"Introduction: The Doctrine of Equality and the Race Problem." Marion M. Miller, ed., *Great Debates in American History*. New York: Current Literature Publishing Company, 1913, vol. 4:1-6. [416]

Adapted by CFA2 from an address delivered at the University of South Carolina, 16 Jan. 1913 (No. 420).

"John Quincy Adams in Russia." *Century Magazine*, 86:250-263 (June 1913). [417]

Contains some of the same material as No. 414.

"Old Hingham." *Pilgrim Magazine*, 1:21-22 (Jan. 1913). [418]

Abstract of speech at the dedication of a memorial to the town's founders, 25 Nov. 1912.

"Sectional Feeling in 1861." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 46 (1912-1913): 306-315. [419]

Reproduces passages from a letter by W. H. Russell in the *London Times*, 28 May 1861, on public feeling in South Carolina.

"*'Tis Sixty Years Since." Address of Charles Francis Adams, Founders' Day, January 16, 1913, University of South Carolina*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913. 66 p. [420]

Same with subtitle: *An Address Delivered on Founders' Day, January 16, 1913, Before the Faculty and Students of the University of South Carolina, at Columbia*. 63rd Congress, 1st Session, Senate, Doc. 186. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913. 31 p. See also No. 416.

*Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity; Lectures Delivered before the University of Oxford in Easter and Trinity Terms, 1913*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913. 184 p. [421]

Lectures on the Civil War. In 1914 CFA2 was asked to repeat these lectures at Johns Hopkins University under the auspices of the Schouler Foundation. The Hopkins lectures were based on the published Oxford ones but were rewritten and greatly amplified (typescripts in CFA2 Papers, M. H. S.). Only two of these Hopkins lectures were published (Nos. 426 and 428).

"Wednesday, August 19, 1812, 6:30 P.M.; the Birth of a World Power." *American Historical Review*, 18:513-521 (April 1913). [422]

On the fight between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*; read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, Boston, 31 Dec., 1912.

"Wolseley and the Confederate Army." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 47 (1913-1914):9-24. [423]

Reprints Lord Wolseley's account of a visit to General Lee's headquarters, Oct. 1862, from *Blackwood's Magazine* (Jan. 1863).

See also No. 9.

## 1914

"Again 'The Tissue of History'." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 48 (1914-1915):78-101. [424]

On the resemblance of the German

campaign in France and Belgium to the Virginia campaign of 1864. See also No. 401.

"Civil War Literature." *Nation*, 99: 66-68, 97-99, 128-130, 159-161 (16, 23, 30 July, 6 Aug. 1914). [425]

"A Crisis in Downing Street." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 47 (1913-1914): 372-424. [426]

One of CFA2's Johns Hopkins University lectures; see No. 421. Also separately printed as *The Crisis of Foreign Intervention in the War of Secession* (No. 427).

*The Crisis of Foreign Intervention in the War of Secession, September-November, 1862*. Boston, 1914. 54 p. [427]

Originally in M. H. S., *Proceedings* (No. 426).

"The Golgotha Year." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 47 (1913-1914):334-340. [428]

One of CFA2's Johns Hopkins University lectures; see No. 421.

"McHenry on Cotton Crisis, 1865." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 47 (1913-1914):279-287. [429]

*The Monroe Doctrine and Mommsen's Law.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. 42 p. [430]

Read before the American Society of International Law, Washington, 22 April 1914. See No. 431.

"The Origin of the Monroe Doctrine." *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law at Its Eighth Annual Meeting Held at Washington, D. C., April 22-25, 1914.* Washington: Byron S. Adams, 1914, p. 22-32. [431]

Reprinted as *The Monroe Doctrine and Mommsen's Law* (No. 430).

*The Railroad Rate Case. An Open Letter to President Wilson.* Boston, 1914. 8 p. [432]

Dated South Lincoln, 24 Oct. 1914. Also printed as *Railroads' Position Critical* (No. 433), and "Rate Increase Vital to Roads" (No. 437).

*Railroads' Position Critical. Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts in a Letter to President Wilson, Describes It As Involving a Danger to the Safety and Prosperity of the Community*. n.p., 1914. 10 p. [433]

Letter dated South Lincoln, 24 Oct. 1914. M. H. S. copy has penciled notation on cover: "Printed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R. Co.?" Also printed as *The Railroad Rate Case* (No. 432), and as "Rate Increase Vital to Roads" (No. 437).

"A Voice From America—Mr. Charles Adams on the War." *Spectator*, 113:633-634 (7 Nov. 1914). [434]

Letter to Lord Newton dated at South Lincoln, 21 Oct. 1914.

See also No. 106.

## 1915

"The British Proclamation of May, 1861." M. H. S., *Proceedings*, 48 (1914-1915):190-242. [435]

*Increase of Taxation, Address at Annual Town Meeting of Lincoln, Massachusetts, March 8, 1915*. n.p.,

[1915]. 6 p. [436]

"Rate Increase Vital to Roads." Slason Thompson, ed., *The Railway Library, 1914.* Chicago: Stromberg, Allen & Co., 1915, p. 62-67. [437]

Letter to President Wilson, 24 Oct. 1914. Also printed as *Railroads' Position Critical* (No. 433), and *The Railroad Rate Case* (No. 432).

See also No. 403.

## 1916

*Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915: an Autobiography. With a Memorial Address Delivered November 17, 1915, by Henry Cabot Lodge.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916. lx, 224 p. [438]

CFA2 began writing his autobiography in the fall of 1900 after his return from Madison, Wisconsin. On 23 Dec. of the same year he recorded in his Diary: "Finished the autobiog.—300 pp. of M. S. and it occupied my spare time during 53 days,—an average of six pages a day, and more than half of the time otherwise occupied." CFA2 thus anticipated rather than imitated his brother Henry's *Education* (written in 1905, privately printed in 1907, but not published until after the author's death in 1918). CFA2's manuscript was, however, carefully reviewed, somewhat revised, and certainly enlarged in 1912, as a number of internal references show. The last sentence reads: "Finished, at Washington, Wednesday, March 27, 1912; 8.45 A.M." A six-page concluding note by Worthington C. Ford summarizes the remainder of CFA2's life to his death on 20 March 1915.

## 1920

*A Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920. 2 vols. xv, 298; 281 p. [439]

Selections from CFA2's correspondence with his father and his brother Henry, 1861-1865.

## 1927

[Diary extracts, September 1860.] Theodore C. Blegen, ed., "Minnesota as Seen by Travelers: Campaigning with Seward in 1860." *Minnesota History,* 8:165-171 (June 1927). [440]

Printed from a copy made by CFA2 for Samuel R. Thayer of Minneapolis now in the Minnesota Historical Society. On 3 Dec. 1900, CFA2 wrote Thayer: "I should in any event have been glad to oblige you by making these extracts, but in my own case it came in somewhat handily, as my record was one which I was then looking over with a view to destroying it. It has, since making these extracts, been reduced to ashes, as I found it contained little worth preserving" (*Minnesota History,* 8:155).

## Addendum

"Address of Charles Francis Adams." *Dedication of the Building of the New Hampshire Historical Society.* Concord: The Historical Society, 1912, p. 65-72. [441]

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# Memories of an Old Man

### John Adams*

Two or three years ago I was asked to write my memories of my early years at The Glades, a summer place and club near Cohasset, and last winter I did so, realizing that if it were to be done at all it would have to be done soon. Stephen Riley learned of this, and he and Thomas Adams urged me to read a paper based on those memories at this October meeting, thinking that an informal paper of no historical value might amuse the members at what is often a dull business meeting, though followed by a pleasanter occasion, our Annual Dinner. And so after some demur, I said I would try to get up something, and here it is.

I was born in Quincy in 1875, in a house standing on top of President's Hill, but earlier, I have been told, known as Stoney Field Hill, a much better name. From this hill we looked beyond the town to Mt. Wollaston, where once was Thomas Morton's Merrymount and the famous Maypole, and beyond this lay the harbor and its islands, with the wide bay beyond. Right before us was Nantasket Roads and a little farther out Georges Island with its fort, distant some four or five miles.

Sail still prevailed at that time, in the coasting trade anyway, which was carried on almost entirely by a great fleet of schooners large and small, the coal fleet being mostly three-masted vessels; and when there was a long spell of easterly weather Nantasket Roads would be filled with vessels waiting for a fair chance—mostly schooners, but also some barques and brigs, and very rarely a ship. A few ships only came to Boston in the eighties, usually from Calcutta and the East, often laden with jute, and more often than not these did not sail from Boston but were towed to New York for a cargo.

And of Nantasket Roads, you may remember that it was there the brig *Pilgrim* lay for one night before sailing on her long voyage to California which Richard H. Dana so interestingly describes in his *Two Years Before the Mast*, and it was there the frigate *Boston* lay waiting for John Adams with his son John Quincy to join her for the hazardous voyage to Europe in 1778 over a sea swarming with British cruisers. John Adams and his son had come from the house on Penn's Hill the day before to be handy when the frigate's boat came for them, and they were at the house of Norton Quincy, Abigail's uncle, not over a third of a mile from the creek where the ship's barge picked them up. The house is gone, torn down by another John Quincy Adams, probably about 1870, but the site was still marked by a couple of big linden trees when I was a boy, and from there the farm road still ran through the fields to the creek, formerly known as Quincy's Creek, but later as Black's Creek. The point at which they embarked must have been about where the bridge of the present boulevard crosses the creek now, for that is where the deep water touched the beach in my young days. There we used to swim, and across the creek the salt marshes ran on unspoiled to the old Quincy place. All is now changed—new roads, houses all over the place—but to me the old road through the fields and the landing and the unspoiled creek are as clear as in a picture, for it was the shores of Quincy Bay and the river at Germantown that really drew my brother and myself, and there we spent much of our spare time, summer and winter, when in Quincy.

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* This paper was read at the October, 1958, meeting.

On one of those occasions we were out on the bay in a dory. It was a gusty January day, a cold northwest wind blowing, when a letter from my father in Europe to my brother, which he had opened but not read, blew over the side and was lost. Being a good deal troubled about this, he was relating the incident at dinner that evening to his Uncle John, who roared out, "He says it blew overboard. Not so. He hove it over. The bay is full of good advice." Anyone who knew those two men, John Adams and his brother, would appreciate this story and realize there was considerable truth in the remark.

But to return to the house on the hill. At the foot of the hill was the "Old House," for so we all called it, and maybe halfway down the hill was the house my grandfather had built, in the forties I think, and from there the road ran down to Adams Street. This road, now called Presidents Lane, must have been little more than a farm road then, running through fields that belonged to the family, and up this lane old John Quincy Adams used to walk on a summer's morning to his son's house and sitting there would watch the sun rise over the bay. This is the legend and no doubt it is true, but it always has puzzled me somewhat, for I never could see the bay from that spot in my time;

but of course there had been many changes, trees growing up and all that. Indeed, my father used to say that in his boyhood there were few trees in Quincy, and we know that when John and Abigail returned from Europe, following the Revolution and the end of his mission there, those waiting for them in front of the Old House saw their carriage as it came over the rise from Milton. When I knew the place, that rise was all shut out by trees.

It was in the house on the hill that we lived the year round till 1880, when we started to go away for the summer months, and when I was nine we began to go to Boston for the winters—and how I hated it! A few years more and I went away to school. In the spring of my first form year my arm was broken in a fall and I was sent home, and again I was at Quincy, and again the wide view of the harbor was before me, blue and bright and beautiful with the ships and boats coming and going. One morning especially comes back to me, a perfect June morning, when looking to the eastward I saw a full-rigged ship running down the channel past Nix's Mate before a light northwesterly air. I got the glass and there she was, all sail on her including royals, and I watched her pass down the ship channel, by the fort, and out to sea. She was the *Magellan*, one of the old Boston ships.

It was during these pleasant weeks at home with a broken arm that I first really got to know Henry Adams, my uncle. His mother had died in the Old House that spring of 1889, and he had come from Washington and was passing the summer there with his two dogs, Marquis and Possum. One day I was working in the garden weeding the strawberry bed when on looking up I saw Henry, a short figure wearing a palm-leaf hat, coming through the hayfield. He came up to me and looking down asked in his pleasant way—"What are you doing here?" and on being told said, "Oh, that is a poor way to spend a fine afternoon like this. Come walk with me"—and off we went. And that was the beginning of one of the pleasantest experiences of my life. It didn't last long, only two or three weeks, but during that time I used to call for him almost every day and find him working at the long table in the Stone Library, where I used to see his father sitting years before. And off we would go, he and his two dogs, and I think he looked forward to it as much as I. He talked about everything, and though, mind you, I had not yet reached my fourteenth birthday, he never talked down to me. No boy could have had a better companion, and no school could have been half so good. But back to school I had to go when my arm was mended.

I saw him again for brief periods at long intervals, once in England, in Kent, where he had taken a house with the Don Camerons. He and I used to walk together in the afternoons through the country lanes or sit on a hillside looking out over the Weald, and there also he would hold forth while I listened. John Hay had just been appointed Secretary of State, and apparently Hay and he had passed days discussing problems that Hay had to tackle on his return to Washington. Anyway, Henry was full of it and I heard all about it. It was very interesting, and I had a wonderful time, but somehow it wasn't quite so good as those walks in Quincy nine years before. I will only say this. I have met few men that interested me as much as Henry Adams.

In 1893 my father bought a place in Lincoln, and that in Quincy was sold the following year, Quincy then being well on its way to what it has since become. It never was an attractive town in my time, and the stone quarries only half a mile behind our house were going strong, Portland cement not having come into general use as yet. They had brought in an industrial population, and all day long from the seven o'clock whistle on to six the quarrymen were shooting out the stone and chipping away with their hammers. It was quite a sight though, to see a couple of big powerful men swinging their heavy sledges in perfect rhythm while a third sat below holding the drill.

Some of the big blocks of stone were shipped out by water, being drawn along Adams Street by yokes of oxen on the way to the landing on the river, where they were loaded on stone sloops and carried to Boston mostly. They couldn't have gone much farther, for with one exception the sloops were nothing but square-ended scows and about as handy as a bale of hay. Still they could run down the river at quite an extraordinary pace before a brisk southwesterly breeze, of course taking a large portion of the channel.

After we left Quincy everything was quite different. My father still had the house in town, but so far as I was concerned it didn't mean much, for I had entered Harvard, and also the panic and depression of 1893 had struck the country, and my father was hard-hit. It was a black period for everybody and lasted well into the nineties. The house in Boston was sold about 1897, and we lived in Lincoln, though the family passed a good deal of time in Europe to save money. However, during my first two years at Harvard, while we still had the house on Gloucester Street, I used to go in to dinner there frequently on Sunday evening. It was a big house at the corner of Commonwealth Avenue, and it was my father's custom to have his friends there Sunday evening. There you would be apt to find interesting people, men of course, and I recall a few—John Ropes, General Wilson of Civil War fame, Moorfield Storey, and many others. The talk was largely of the Civil War as you may imagine, for many had played a part in it. John Ropes of course was also interested in the Waterloo campaign, and that was also a frequent topic, while Storey, younger by a few years, used to hold forth on all sorts of things. He always had his own ideas and did not hesitate to say them in his soft, incisive voice. He added much.

My father had guests at Lincoln too a good deal, but I didn't see much of that for I had graduated and gone to the West. I came on for short visits from time to time and found James Bryce there once, but I can't remember much about it. One doesn't remember events and conversations that happened in one's thirties as clearly as in the twenties and earlier. I do recall the remarks of the chore man at Lincoln, however. Mr. Bryce had been at Lincoln some days when James said to me, "That is a very remarkable old gentleman your father has staying here. I was out in the garden very early, and it was a frosty morning, a cold wind blowing, when he came out and ran down the path and chinned himself on the branch of a tree." Mr. Bryce must have been close to seventy then.

Before ending these casual reminiscences there is just this last I have in mind. By then I was no longer very young, but in middle life, and I was on a little sloop I then owned. I had got up early, I was alone and had taken her out under the jib in order to cross the bar at high water and had let go the anchor. Soon after an old lobsterman rowing a dory came along—it was then getting light, the faint gray light of dawn—and stopping said to me, "Young man you shouldn't lie out here. It's August and it may come on to blow." So we both sat down and had a chat, and he told me his life and all—he was then well on in the seventies—and his last words were these, "I have lobstered man and boy for nearly seventy years, and I have had a great deal better life than one of those fellers who work in a bank. I have been my own man all my life." And that was the point of view of the men of that time that I used to meet and talk with—the prospectors that roamed the mountains of Idaho and the settlers in the foothills. They certainly were their own men, independent—and unafraid.

# Random Sketches over Eighty Years

### John Adams*

A year ago, in October, 1958, at the request of the President of this Society, I read a short paper of reminiscences. It dealt for the most part with scenes from my boyhood in Quincy, and there is little more to be said about that. Moreover, in 1880 we began to go to The Glades in summer and in '84 to Boston in the winters, and in 1888 I to boarding school, so I ceased to be much in Quincy.

But going back a bit, before we went to The Glades and while we lived in Quincy the year 'round, in summer we children used to be driven down each morning to an old farmhouse on the shore of Quincy Bay, the Old Willow House, and there we stayed till late in the day, when we were driven home. There was a special wagon for this purpose, called the beachwagon, light and long with three movable seats, built by the local wheelwright, Terrell, to my father's order, and a good job it was, in use for forty years or until the motor came and good for forty more. Into this we would be loaded on a summer morning and driven to the old farmhouse—children, nurses, lunch baskets, and all, with Bream, our Newfoundland dog, running behind—down the hill, by the square, and on across the swamp beyond, by the poor farm where a poor old pauper was often hanging over the fence making faces as we passed, then along Sea Street. Beyond this there were no houses, except for the clump of buildings of the Mount Wollaston Farm, all the way to Quincy's Woods owned by old Colonel John Quincy a century before, and then to the old farmhouse to which we were bound—nothing but open fields and pasture, with Quincy Bay on one hand and on the other the marshes and waters of Pine Island Creek and the Town River. There we passed the summer day, playing about on the sand and in the water as children do, and as I have said it was all quite unspoiled, open fields and empty shore. Nothing is left of that now, nor of the open fields of the big Mount Wollaston Farm, those lands of my uncle, J. Q. Adams,[1] and of his forebears, back to old Colonel John Quincy in the eighteenth century, and before him, I suppose. All wiped out now. I hope never to see the place again. Yet considering I was under five at the time of the Old Willow House episode, I have a curiously vivid remembrance of it all.

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* A longer version of this paper was read at the November, 1959, meeting.

[1] John Quincy Adams (1833–1894), eldest son of Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886).

This came to an end when we began to go to The Glades. I won't go into much detail about that—I have done so already for The Glades Club, and I doubt if it would be of interest to you here.

What may be of interest is the impression I retain of the countryside of Scituate, and of the Bay before us, and the life upon it. The country back of The Glades was still that of the Old Colony, and the memory I have of it is one of peace and quiet, narrow winding roads and small houses with old barns and a few old apple trees. On the barns might be weather vanes—a horse or a cow, or a fishing schooner, mainsail set lying head to the wind. All was curiously quiet, the houses white, or old, gray, and weatherbeaten and the barns weathered and gray. As you drew down towards the sea and The Glades, where now is Minot with its masses of cottages and summer houses, there was nothing but a few small white houses of the people of the town. At the turn of the road at the beach, there was one small summer hotel, Kimball's, and at the inside corner a small pond with cat-o-nine tails, and an old farmhouse, gray and weathered—and in that house in 1640 had met the representatives of the Bay and Plymouth Colonies to settle the bounds between them. Bound Brook was the result. The pond is gone, but the house may be still there, so changed as to be unrecognizable and swallowed up by a mass of summer cottages. Beyond, the settlement of Minot did not exist except for the little Centennial House and a few small cottages—after that nothing but the shingle of the beach and mossers' huts with the Irish moss spread out in squares to dry. Summer life had hardly begun in 1880, and the country was still owned and occupied largely by the people of the Old Colony, many the descendants of the Men of Kent, the Delanos, Turners and others. Now all is changed, great roads have been pushed through the country, motor cars rushing along at fifty miles or over, the peace and quiet gone and an alien race in possession.

But come to think of it, the red men must have felt the same about the Plymouth settlers. So it goes and "The old order yieldeth place to new."

But turning to the Bay and the life upon it, which is what always most appealed to me, there is possibly the greatest change. But for the transatlantic steamships and a few coastwise lines, almost all was sail then, from the little spritsail boats of the lobstermen to the schooners of the coasting fleet, and also some deep water ships, brigs, and barques, and very occasionally a full-rigged ship, coming in from Calcutta or other ports of the Far East.

Now there is nothing much but an occasional big tanker or such like, the life and interest is gone, and the Bay looks empty. Then it was spotted with sails, and on a day when the wind came fair, after a period of easterly weather and rough water over the shoals, there would be a procession of schooners driving past, swinging all the sail they had, and if it were a strong southwesterly carrying great waves amidships and on the quarter, big schooners and little, with here and there a fisherman from the Georges, carrying fore and main topsails and a big fisherman's staysail pulling like a team of horses. This would go on all day, and my uncle, J. Q. Adams, loved it and would sit watching it by the hour. I liked it too, and as I grew older and could handle a catboat I used to pass days on the bay meeting these vessels, schooners mostly, but sometimes a square-rigged vessel, a brig or a barque, and very occasionally a ship, but these were very few, for Boston's trade with the Far East and the West Coast was almost gone.

I was lucky enough to meet a few of these ships, and one I well remember. She had been cleared, and I was looking for her, when one bright morning I saw a white patch in the smoke and haze towards Boston light. It proved to be the foretopsails of the ship lit up by the morning sun, and so I started. The breeze was light northwest, she running down and my boat close hauled, and as we drew together the wind flattened out, as it does so often in that bay, and began to haul to the north and northeast. This threw her head in towards Hardings Ledge, and she started to wear. I was close to her by then and could see and hear it all, the skipper standing aft, the mates at their stations, and the men in blue or red shirts singing at the braces as they hauled the yards around. All this took time, but the breeze was making fast and had settled at southeast so when she was around and on her course, her yards braced in on the starboard tack, she left me fast. So I made my way home, and there to the eastward was the *Henrietta*, listed to a fresh southeasterly breeze, bound out to the River Plate.

And so she passed, the last of these vessels I ever met, and looking back over the years it almost seems as if my boyhood went with her, for soon after that I left these scenes I loved so well and after a few years at Harvard, found my way to Idaho and the Northwest.

But it is curious, few seemed to have much interest in these commonplace scenes and activities of everyday life and labor. It is always so. Once I was on the schooner *Mayflower* following a race. It was a pretty sight, but looking down to leeward was a ship tacking. It is a complicated maneuver—she luffs and the main yard and after yards are hauled around, then as the sails forward are taken aback her head pays off, and at the order "let go and haul" the foreyards are hauled around and jibs brought across, and the job is done.

So there in plain sight was this ship tacking, and no one was interested, yet it was a fair sight to see. But so it is. If a ship were reported now to be coming up the bay, no doubt there would be hundreds of motor boats on hand and thousands of cameras. Kipling's lines express the thought. "The worst we won with bitter toil, the best we left behind."

There is little I care to say of the next few years at Harvard, yet it was at that time, in 1897, the Shaw Monument was unveiled. That summer I had a talk with Mrs. Henry Higginson. There had been a parade and in it was a gathering of officers of Massachusetts war regiments, some of whom had been fellow officers with Shaw in the famous 2nd. It had been an impressive occasion, and when all the pomp and show had passed there remained the great Memorial of Saint-Gaudens to remind us of it.

Some months later I met Mrs. Higginson and got her speaking of those times when she was a girl. She was interested and talked freely and well, and though I have forgotten much, yet her description of the march past of the 54th Massachusetts colored with Colonel Shaw at its head I have never forgotten.

Miss Agassiz, as she then was, with a group of others was in a house on Beacon Street to see the regiment pass. There was a crowd in the street, and no doubt she had witnessed many such scenes before, for this was in May, 1863, the third year of the war, and many regiments must have passed in review in that time. But this was different.

You must remember that this was a colored regiment, the first, and there was a great difference of opinion as to the advisability of enlisting colored men, and much prejudice also, so as this regiment passed there was no cheering, only silence save for the tramp of a thousand marching men. She knew Robert Shaw, was deeply moved, and as he passed at the head of the column, impulsively and quite unconsciously, she called, "Good-by, Bob," and in the silence he heard, and looking up, smiled and saluted. And so he passed by, and later, in the following July, he died in the assault on Fort Wagner at the head of this same regiment.

A pretty story, the girl and her spontaneous farewell, yet it is only right to say that in his address in Sanders Theatre, May 30, 1897, Major Higginson speaks of the cheering crowds as the 54th marched through the streets. It may be so, yet he was not there and she was, and insofar as it relates to that part witnessed, she remembered it all so clearly, and was so vivid in her description, that she must have been right, or so it seems to me.

And so the time came when I left Boston and the East, and in February, 1899, one dark afternoon took the train for Chicago and the West, reaching Lewiston, Idaho, six or seven days later. I was very green then, all was new and strange, and the Lewiston Valley was filling up. There was a boom on, and a couple of hundred miles beyond was Buffalo Hump, a mining camp of which great things were expected. The Northwest was mad about it, but it all came to nothing. Meanwhile it was interesting and exciting. Lewiston was head of navigation on the river, also the terminus of the railway line, and the town was full of mining men coming and going, prospectors everywhere waiting for the snow to get out of the hills, and freighters with their four and six-horse teams hauling supplies over Craigs Mountain and Camas Prairie to Grangeville, whence they were packed into the hills.

Around about Lewiston itself some fruit was grown under irrigation and much wheat on the hills above, and in the Grande Ronde was a good deal of cattle. Well, it all blew up. The wheat is still there, some fruit, and maybe the cattle, but the mines never came to anything, and the big city we expected never grew at all, so we were disappointed, my father lost a lot, and worse for me, I lost a lot of time.

However it was interesting while it lasted. To begin with, I went to work and tried to learn what it was all about, roaming about the country in doing so. Luckily for me I met a mining man who suggested I go into the hills with him. Of course I jumped at the chance. We started in July, 1899, and it was very hot and dry—the Lewiston Valley could be hot as Hell in summer—so we decided to ride at night.

As I say, I was as green as they grew, and that ride of three nights is still vivid in my memory—leaving the valley and slowly climbing to Craigs Mountain, at times passing through great fields of ripening wheat, white in the moonlight and still as death, except occasionally a dry rustling sound as a faint draft passed through the wheat. At intervals we would pass a freighter camped for the night, the horses hobbled, he asleep under the wagon, and maybe a dog about.

And so we came to Waha in the early hours, stayed the day, and then on again through a wooded country, disturbing the hilldee plover beside the ponds which flew off with faint cries, a curious lost sound, and towards morning reaching Cottonwood, the next night by Cottonwood Butte, where Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé tribe made his last stand, and across Camas Prairie to Grangeville and the beginning of the hills.

From there we had a couple of days scrambling over narrow trails through a rough country till suddenly we came to a deep gorge. There for the first time we could look away for a few miles, and before us across the gorge was Buffalo Hump, both humps clothed in snow. To me it looked impressive for I had no experience with such scenes, and while we paused a packer with his string of mules came along, pretty little animals, each carrying a heavy pack. Such sights were old stuff to him, but he liked the ruggedness of the country, thinking it promised ore bodies, but he was wrong, for it came to nothing, though it had quite a run.

After a few more miles of travel we came to the camp, some scores of tents, which served as lodgings, stores, and of course restaurants and saloons, and it was there I ran across a new custom to me. A man might be asked to drink, but if he did not wish to he would say he would take a cigar, and this he would do, but likely stick it in his pocket and not smoke it. Not a bad idea, for the whiskey was raw stuff.

There were hardly any women, but some did washing. I saw only one red light, hanging before a tent on the hillside a little outside of the town. I met this woman once when some of us were sitting in a group in the sun and she joined us. It was all new to me, and I watched her closely. She must have been about forty with pleasant quiet manners and sat talking with us in a quiet way, and it was all very friendly and pleasant.

After a few days we started off to visit various prospects which Sherwood wished to see. The hills were full of prospectors, some with a burro cruising about looking for a lead, others sinking a hole on some claim or tunneling into a hill, and some just in there for the fun of it, as in the case of a couple of elderly men, old friends of Sherwood, whom we found by a small lake, Fish Lake, spending the summer very pleasantly fishing. Such trout as they didn't eat were smoked, and they were very good. We had dinner with them and they fed us well. They had been grubstaked by some poor sucker, and they certainly were enjoying his stake. So it was—some worked hard and hoped they would hit it some day; others went into the hills year after year till they grew old because they loved the free independent life. One of our first trips was down from the peaks to a point on a fork of the Clearwater. All day we floundered down on a rough trail along ridges and through swamps covered with low pine growth, where one of the horses got mired and we had some trouble in getting her out, and finally late in the day we reached our goal. Some Norwegians, four brothers, it was, had staked out claims, built quite a large log cabin, and done a lot of work, sinking and drifting along the vein, and they thought they had found something worthwhile. Most prospectors did, but so far as I know nothing much was ever developed in that district.

I wish these men had been successful, for they were unusually nice fellows and worked hard, and, as I look back at it, were much more agreeable than most of those I met that summer in the hills—clean, quiet, and good mannered.

We were with them some days while Sherwood went all over the works and I amused myself. It was a pleasant place, well-kept and clean, close beside the clear rushing river. On one occasion standing there with one of these men and looking far up to the peaks above, I spoke of a slow trip down the rough difficult trail which had taken all day. He told me that the winter before he had come down from the Hump on skis in twenty minutes. The snow was very deep that winter, and he had traveled right over the low timber in the valleys. It seemed very strange as we knew nothing about skis sixty years ago.

We had a number of such trips, one of them to the town of Dixie, a rich placer camp. At this period prospectors were trying to find the mother lode. It was in that small town that I was careless mounting my horse, a crazy animal, but she was worn down by then and seemed quiet. Something started her as I was only half in the saddle, and she began to pitch. I didn't have a chance and after three or four bucks, I sailed off and lit in a big puddle, but in that brief time I heard all about that small town the high falsetto yips of the lookers-on. The sequel of this small incident came a year or two later. My brother was waiting for the ferry on the Salmon, when a fellow wandered over to him and asked, "Is your name Adams?" and then, "I saw you bucked off your horse in Dixie, some time back." Such is fame!

It was late in August when we started to ride out. The day before there had been an all-day snowstorm driven by a strong wind, and I found the horses about sunrise that morning close up to the timber line. When we left the whole place was covered with snow, and very beautiful it was, though it soon melted away.

We rode out to Florence, where there was a gold mine and small stamp mill, and in doing so passed through old Florence, one of the richest and wildest of the old placer camps. It was late in the day when we passed through the old town, and there it still was just as it had been —little log huts on each side of the road, the doors hanging loose, and not a soul in it. Very quiet and still it was on that late August afternoon, and seemed as if it must have been only just deserted.

We rode on to the new town of Florence, where we remained a few days, thence to Lewiston and there I remained two years or so, making a number of other trips of one sort or another.

One of these stands out. We heard there was a possible power site on the Grande Ronde and I went up with an engineer to look it over. All day we rode up toward the Blue Mountains and late in the afternoon we passed over a shoulder and abruptly came to the breaks. The sun was setting, and there before us lay the whole Grande Ronde. It was October, and far away across the valley was a range of hills all covered with snow shining in the rays of the setting sun, and below us a deep gulf full of purple shadows into which we could not see, but could hear the river far down below rushing over the stones. We sat on our horses a few minutes—it was worth looking at in its utter silence and beauty—and then plunged down the track before us.

Darkness was coming on, and soon seeing a cabin we asked if we could stay the night. A young couple lived there, and after we had watered and fed our horses, we went in and they gave us supper. It was the usual type of log cabin, one end the living room with cook stove, the other the sleeping room, and I began to wonder how this girl was going to manage. She was very young, quite pretty with quiet manners, and here she was with two strange men on her hands. But she was quite equal to the occasion, motioned us into the sleeping room, pointed to our bed, the usual crude platform covered with hay or corn stalks and some blankets, and left us. After a sufficient time her husband came in and turned in, and then she came in quietly with a lamp shaded by her hand, one of those old glass coal oil lamps, blew it out, and that was that. It is a scene I have never forgotten—the ease and modesty of that pretty young girl and the quiet grace with which she handled the situation. That is long, long ago, and that girl if living now must be an old woman of eighty, with probably a swarm of grandchildren scattered over the land.

# Theodore Roosevelt Appoints a Judge

### Elting E. Morison*

I would like to examine a small and forgotten moment in Theodore Roosevelt's past.

This incident deals with the appointment of a federal judge in the Southern District of the State of New York in the year 1906. It lies at the far end of a chain of events each one of which, since they all are linked together, it will be necessary to describe. The first event was the prosecution of the Northern Securities Company. The Northern Securities Company was taken to be a combination in restraint of trade put together by James J. Hill and the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company. There was hardly a schoolboy in this country who did not know the name and the power and the glory of James J. Hill, the Empire Builder, and J. Pierpont Morgan, the Magnificent. At a single stroke this prosecution brought before the public the nature of the problem—taken by Theodore Roosevelt to be the most important single problem confronting the society—of the safe control and regulation of industrial energy. In subsequent years he followed up this initial statement of the problem with words. He spoke of the malefactors of great wealth; the "simple barbarism" that always threatened to invade any community resting on industry. He condemned the spirit of the Birmingham School, the spirit of the banker, the broker, the mere manufacturer. He rallied the citizens to believe that they could "look ahead and plan out the right kind of civilization as that which we intend to develop from these wonderful new conditions of vast industrial growth."[1] And he also said, "It is idle to tell this people that we have not the power to solve such a problem as that of exercising adequate supervision over the great industrial combinations of today. We have the power and we shall find out the way."[2]

All these things he said before 1905. In that year he reached the conclusion that the time had come to demonstrate that the government actually had the power and knew the way to provide, under existing law, adequate supervision over the great industrial combinations. The instrument of authority was obviously the machinery of federal justice, but an investigation set in motion by the President revealed in 1905 that this machinery was in fact an antiquated and dull instrument, insufficient for the needs at hand. By law, government attorneys in the federal districts were required to be in their offices "every day part of the time." Liberally interpreting this clause, many of these lawyers spent much of each day out of the government offices in search of private practice to supplement their meager salaries. In addition, it was not the custom for District Attorneys to appear very often in court; difficult cases were turned over to outside counsel. And, finally, the dockets in the federal courts were so crowded that many cases, dismissed or settled on pleas of guilty, were never brought to trial. After this survey it was clear that the machinery of federal justice would have to be reconditioned before it could exercise adequate supervision over the behavior of the powerful corporations.[3]

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* This paper was read at the December, 1957, meeting.

[1] *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, ed. Elting E. Morison et al., 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–54), III, xv. Cited hereafter as *Letters*.

[2] *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, Memorial Edition, 24 vols. (New York, 1923–26), XVIII, 486.

The first step in this reconditioning was the appointment of William Henry Moody of this Commonwealth as Attorney General of the United States. His predecessor, Philander Knox, was an intelligent man, a well-trained lawyer, a skilled advocate; but, "tremendously interested in great state policies," as someone said of him, he was bored by detail, routine, and administration. Moody, learned in the law, was also, as he had proved in the Navy Department, a consummate administrator. He had a great sense of organizational principles and the nerve to hire and fire. He was also a pugnacious, virile man hell-bent in 1905 to chastise the corporate aggressor.

I would like to stop here for just a moment to say a word about Roosevelt's skill in selecting men to do a job. There were—as there undoubtedly are in all Cabinets—soft spots, produced by political considerations, in the body of his official family. Leslie Shaw and Victor Metcalf come to mind. But these soft spots never appeared in the important areas of interest. When Roosevelt needed a Secretary of State he turned to Root; when he needed a Secretary of War to develop the life on our insular possessions he appointed Taft; when he wished to shake up the Department of Justice he reached for Moody, who was one of the remarkable men of his generation.

[3] *New York Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1905, May 12, 1906; H. L. Stimson to W. H. Moody, April 5, 1906, Stimson Papers (Yale University Library); A. G. Langeluttig, *The Department of Justice of the United States* (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 75 ff.

In the early fall of 1905 Roosevelt, Moody, and a group of Senators held frequent conferences to consider the condition of the district offices of the Department of Justice. The newspapers were permitted to report in some detail the conclusion of these conferences that the condition of the districts was "wholly unsatisfactory." Particular attention was given to the state of affairs in the Southern District of New York.[4]

This was the most important District Office of the Department of Justice. Located as it was in Manhattan it had under its special cognizance the behavior of the many large corporations with general offices in New York City. Until 1905 no successful prosecution under the Elkins Act or the Sherman Act had ever been brought to trial in the Southern District. The office was not, in fact, in a condition to conduct its business. The physical circumstances of the rooms in the Post Office Building were, it was said, "deplorable." Within the dark and grimy confines, witnesses, clerks, assistants, and criminals were all jumbled together. Equally jumbled were the files; federal officials lived in constant fear of losing valuable papers. There were in all eight attorneys in the office, who at odd times of the day put in appearances to do what was called "the small daily grist of routine matters."[5] For the rest they stayed in their own private offices conducting their own practices. The District Attorney was Henry Lawrence Burnett, "Old Lightning Eyes," a brevetted Brigadier in the Civil War, a student of the standard-bred horse, a close friend of William McKinley. He had been a good enough lawyer but by 1905 he was an old man, ready to retire full of years and honors. But even from the beginning of his term of office in 1898 it had been his custom to place all important cases, "extraordinary matters" he called them, in the hands of special outside counsel. The office of the Southern District was in 1905, in other words, in the last stages of bureaucratic paralysis. In that year only 27 of the 610 cases undertaken by the office and its outside counsel had actually been brought to trial.[6]

The first thing to do in the fall of 1905, Roosevelt and Moody agreed, was to appoint a new District Attorney whose first duty should be to reorganize the office so that it could conduct the legal affairs of the government. The selection of this man became a piece of Cabinet business in October, 1905. When the President asked for the names of fully qualified men of the Republican persuasion the following suggestions were put forward: James Sheffield, Henry Taft, Job Hedges, Maxwell Evarts, John Henry Hammond, Henry Lewis Stimson, Edmund Wetmore, and Charles E. Hughes. To anyone familiar with the New York Bar in those days these are impressive names. Stimson's name "came up," as Root said, "in the way such suggestions should"—without the undue elevating pressure caused by political convenience or political indebtedness.[7]

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[4] *New York Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1905.

[5] Stimson to Moody, April 5, 1906, Stimson Papers.

[6] *New York Tribune*, Dec. 7, 1905.

To this list another name was soon added by Thomas C. Platt, the senior Senator from New York, the "easy boss" of the state Republican machinery. He was also the man who had, to his subsequent regret, started Roosevelt toward national prominence by accepting him as the gubernatorial candidate in 1898. Somewhat moth-eaten by 1905, his authority in New York somewhat reduced by the rise to power of Governor B. B. Odell, he remained still a force in politics, and still, because of past associations, a peculiar concern for the President. Platt came to Roosevelt in October, 1905, with the name of Robert Morris. He was "perfectly nice about it and not bullying or offensive in any way." On the other hand the Senator made it perfectly clear that this was "the only appointment in which he was really exceedingly interested."[8]

The more important unstated fact was that it was the only appointment in which Mrs. Platt was really interested. She was the second wife of the Senator—a widow, with children of her own, who had recently married Platt, a woman of ambition and spirit. To her and her new husband Robert Morris and Mrs. Morris had given what were referred to as "social favors" at a time when few had come forward with such offers. In return she wished to make Morris the U. S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York. The Senator was very anxious to gratify his wife's desires, for the marriage was, in the fall of 1905, already developing those strains which in the next year produced the separation of husband and wife.

So he pressed Morris upon the President and thus put the President in a difficult position. Platt had always been troublesome in matters of patronage, always trying to pay off a debt or strengthen his hold on the Republican machine by the power of appointment. But in this instance he had fulfilled his part of a bargain he and Roosevelt had made long before. The President had told him that whenever Platt recommended a man of "proper character," he would do his utmost to follow the recommendation.[9] Morris was of proper character, if of unspectacular legal attainments. But his appointment would upset the political situation in New York State. As I have suggested, Platt and Odell, two Old Guard Republicans, were in a struggle for power within the State. Roosevelt had fought them both by throwing all his support to the liberal Republicans, led by Herbert Parsons and Benjamin Higgins. In the immediate past these liberal Republicans had captured control of the New York County Committee and had succeeded in electing Parsons to Congress. In this situation the President did not want to do anything that would appear to strengthen either Platt or Odell, who also had a candidate for the District Attorneyship. He also did not want to do anything to discourage the liberal Republicans who, through Higgins, had informed him that the appointment of Morris would fall like a wet blanket over the enlightened Republican spirit in the State.[10]

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[7] Stimson, "Memorandum of interesting (to me) occasions and events," Jan. 17, 1909, Stimson Papers. Cited hereafter as "Memorandum."

[8] *Letters*, V, 47.

After some weeks of debate with himself Roosevelt decided to reject the nominations of both Platt and Odell. He set himself to select a man with, as Root said, enough guns to silence the criticisms of the regular Republicans, to support the liberals effectively, and finally to clean house in the Southern District. Setting aside his own desire to reward his old friend Jim Sheffield for long and faithful service in the cause of good government in New York City, he turned, with Root's and Moody's enthusiastic approval, to Henry Lewis Stimson. Stimson had been a partner in the Root firm, he was known to Roosevelt as a good rider, a member of the Boone and Crockett Club, an active party worker since 1895, and a rising member of the New York Bar. Having made this selection it was necessary for him to obtain the acquiescence of Senator Platt. This was done by Attorney General Moody, who, in a series of delicate conversations with Mrs. Platt, worked out an arrangement to appoint her son-in-law, a man named Carmody, as an Assistant District Attorney in the Southern District at least until Burnett's successor took office.[11]

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[9] *Ibid.*, v, 47.

[10] *Ibid.*, v, 47, n. 1, 87.

[11] Stimson, "Memorandum."

With the way thus cleared Stimson was confirmed by the Senate in January, 1906. Immediately after his confirmation he was summoned to Washington to talk with the President and the Attorney General. Roosevelt spoke of the great opportunity for reform that lay ahead and of his intention to give his new Attorney a free hand in seizing this opportunity. Stimson in reply said he had only one request to make. At times he knew "the President might properly wish to intervene from Washington in the affairs of the office in New York." Before he did so would he telegraph and "let me have my say first"? Stimson asked this because he knew something of the President's temperamental inability not to interfere in all matters exciting his interest. The President seemed a little hurt and gave one of his wonderful replies, "My dear fellow, if I had the slightest intention of interfering in your office, I would promise of course, but I have no such intention." Then, recalled Stimson later, he went on—almost in the same breath that he said he was going to leave him alone—to offer a cloud of names for suggested appointments to the staff. For the next three years such suggestions flowed into the Southern District—on names to appoint, prosecutions to consider, and, once, a prosecution that might be called off—but Stimson stated "never once did he put any pressure on me actually to follow such suggestions and he has scrupulously left me alone in my decisions."[12]

From Moody, Stimson obtained more specific directions. The offices in New York, Moody said, were the right arm of the Attorney General, in some ways more important than his own office. The New York office was not fulfilling its function; it had to be completely reorganized. For this purpose Stimson would be given a free hand and more money. The intent of the reorganization was to obtain a staff that could keep abreast of current business and could support the District Attorney in the prosecutions which he, hereafter, would argue himself instead of farming out to others. In pressing this total reorganization Moody had only one request—to give Carmody, Mrs. Platt's son-in-law, a fair trial before getting rid of him. Finally Moody told Stimson that he had obtained evidence that seemed to lead to a probable prosecution of the New York Central Railroad and what was then called the Sugar Trust. It was this evidence—suggesting the development of an elaborate system of rebates—which had made the President and the Attorney General move so quickly to change conditions in the Southern District.[18]

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[12] *Ibid.*

Stimson then went back to New York in the spring of 1906 to reorganize his new office. Root had urged him to fire the lot of his assistants immediately, but the new District Attorney decided to wait a little until he knew the kind of men he needed. After four months he was ready to make the changes he felt necessary. In the next year and a half he replaced most of the existing staff with new men—all of them young, almost all just graduated from law school, almost all from the Harvard Law School. Among these men were Emory Buckner, later a partner in the great firm of Root, Buckner, Ballantine and Clark, and the U. S. Attorney for the Southern District under Coolidge; Thomas Thacher, later a U. S. District Judge and a Solicitor General of the United States; Winfred Denison, who later in his short life served on the Philippine Commission; Goldthwaite Dorr, who in his time has worked in the administrations of five Presidents while maintaining his own law firm; and Felix Frankfurter, now a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

I would like to linger over these men long enough to point out that all of them entered public life through the Southern District of New York in the years from 1906 to 1909. Frankfurter, Thacher, Denison, Dorr, Buckner—these are considerable names in our heritage. Taken together they represent the frequently obscured power of the Presidency to influence our national life. Because Stimson was there, these men were attracted to the minor offices in which they began, and Stimson was there because of Moody and Root, and Moody and Root were there because of Theodore Roosevelt. He had, by his presence alone, set up a tone and a standard to which decent, able men were willing, indeed anxious, to respond.

Because of the reorganization of the Southern District the Attorney General now had a powerful right arm. But further steps were necessary before he could use it effectively. It will be recalled that the calendars of the District Courts were so clogged that many cases were never brought to trial. In the Southern District in 1905 only 27 of 610 cases were actually tried—the rest were disposed of with minimum fines and punishments on pleas of guilty. The obvious solution to this difficulty was to add a third judge to the two already sitting, and this required an act of Congress. In December of 1905 the Administration began its effort to obtain the judgeship. A bill for this purpose was introduced by the President's long-time associate in New York politics, Herbert Parsons, on the day after Parsons took his seat in Congress for the first time. In noticing this event the *Tribune* reported that the conditions in the Southern District were "entirely unsatisfactory." Cases had been frequently put over for so long that the death or dispersion of witnesses made conviction impossible. The bill for the new judgeship was therefore a necessity, and, concluded the paper, it was known that Parsons in presenting it had the eager support of the Administration.[14]

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[18] Stimson to C. J. Bonaparte, July 15, 1907, Justice Files (National Archives); Stimson, "Memorandum."

But two months later the bill was still in Committee and the Committeemen were understood to be raising all kinds of doubts. Into April, 1906—five months after Parsons had presented his bill—the debate went on. Then Moody and Stimson appearing for the Administration testified to the bill's necessity. Presenting a statistical analysis of the Court's congestions, the District Attorney concluded his testimony by saying, "The fact that owing to the condition of the criminal business in the federal court in New York City it is easy to escape with light sentences by pleading guilty, even when serious crimes have been committed, seems to be well known to violators of the law—and is constantly used by them in thwarting justice."[15] Such testimony by members of the Administration persuaded the Committee to report favorably on the bill, which in the middle of May was passed into law.

Even before the bill was passed the question of who the new judge would be had been raised. Parsons, Stimson, and Moody went in April to the President to point out that the only way to get a good judge was "to hunt for him and not let him look for us."[16] Roosevelt agreed that the man should be "the ablest lawyer of character, industry and republican proclivities who would take it."[17] He told the three to make a canvass of the best available talent. For several weeks Parsons, Stimson, and Moody talked with members of the New York Bar before presenting the names of C. M. Hough, C. B. Hubbell, and J. S. Shephard. They all preferred Hough—a rugged man of unfailing courage with, it was said, "a vigorous mind of high velocity." But they listed the three names to give the President the opportunity he always desired to make a choice of his own among candidates.

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[14] *New York Tribune*, Dec. 7, 1905.

[15] *Ibid.*, May 12, 1906.

[16] Stimson to Parsons, April 21, 1906, Stimson Papers.

[17] Parsons to Stimson, April 23, 1906, *ibid.*

The names were sent to the President early in May, and for a time nothing happened. On May 23 Parsons went to the White House to stir the President up. He found Roosevelt "very tired" at the end of a long, very hard day. In this mood he seemed a little cool to Hough, who he knew had been counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad. Did Hough, he wondered, have sufficient "corporation aloofness" in him? Besides, the President had read two articles in the *Atlantic* by a man named George William Alger. In these articles Alger had said, "Stated as concretely as possible, the principal difference between the working people and the courts lies in the marked tendency of the courts to guarantee to the workman an academic and theoretic liberty which he does not want, by denying him industrial rights to which he thinks he is ethically entitled."[18]

Such a spirit delighted the President. He sent the article to members of the Supreme Court and to Knox, Root, and Moody. In the conversation of May 23 he told Parsons to find out more about Hough's corporation aloofness and about Alger.[19] So Moody, Parsons, and Stimson continued their research. From many sources they received further assurances of Hough's independence; he had, said Wickersham, "no illusions about corporations."[20] They also discovered that Alger was young, only thirty-three, brilliant, and without much experience in court and trial. These findings were reported by Moody to the President, who listened without much comment. But then Roosevelt went on to speak of other pressures and difficulties in connection with the appointment. Listening to him Moody became alarmed. Influences were at work which the Attorney General told Stimson must be overcome "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."[21]

The influences were familiar enough. Senator Platt had two candidates he was putting forward for the judgeship, and this time he had armed himself with support even more impressive than that of Mrs. Platt. William Loeb, the President's Secretary, had endorsed the Senator's selections and had urged them upon Roosevelt. The weight of these influences disturbed Moody greatly. He had appointed Carmody to an Assistant District Attorneyship to gain Platt's acquiescence to Stimson, but, as he rather wistfully said to Stimson, there were no assistant judgeships that could be used for the same purposes in this instance. Platt pressed his claims. He told the President that if one of his men were not appointed he would take it as a personal affront, he accused the President of making a terrible mistake in his last appointment of a judge in the Southern District, and he said he had heard from Loeb that the only reason Hough was being considered for appointment was to save Herbert Parsons' face.[22]

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[18] *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1906, pp. 364–368.

[19] Parsons to Stimson, May 23, 1906, Stimson Papers.

[20] Stimson to Parsons, May 24, 1906, *ibid.*

[21] Moody to Stimson, May 25, 1906, *ibid.*

These tactics of course annoyed Roosevelt. He replied that in no way could he affront Platt, whatever appointment he made. It was the President's business to nominate and the Senate's to confirm or refuse to confirm. He, Roosevelt, had only seen Hough once; he had no personal inclination here, only the duty "to obtain a man for the position who is the best man under the circumstances that can be obtained." "I cannot afford," he went on, "to let it be supposed that an appointment to the bench is to depend upon the mere personal preference of a Senator." And as for saving Mr. Parsons' face, "I wish it to be understood emphatically and categorically that I have not considered Mr. Parsons, and cannot consider him, or yourself, or anyone else to the extent of putting his or their or your feelings above the matter of getting the best and most competent man as judge for this position."[23]

This was strong and satisfying language, but there was still the matter of obtaining the most competent man. And between Platt's pressures, the recommendation of Hough by his own officials, and his lingering interest in young Alger, the President pondered for a time within himself. One day in June, 1906, the Cabinet was discussing other matters. It was seen that Mr. Root was writing something on a piece of paper; he was also chuckling. He then passed the paper to Mr. Taft, who read it, chuckled, and wrote something himself before passing it on to Mr. Moody. Moody also read, also chuckled, and also wrote, and then passed the paper to Mr. Roosevelt.

The President looked at the paper and saw a large trisected circle with the names of the three men written in the separate sections. He recognized a round robin such as he himself had signed in Cuba. Around the outside of the circle Root had written, "Confessing mature deliberation and reflection to a degree which we fear may be offensive, and following a well-known precedent in our mode of expression we beg to advise you that we are unanimously of the opinion that Mr. Hough should be appointed to the new United States District Judgeship in New York."[24]

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[22] Stimson, "Memorandum"; *Letters,* v, 304–306.

[23] *Letters,* v, 304–306.

Two days later the selection of Charles Hough—after what the *Tribune* called "a spirited campaign by others for the post"—was announced. By such means the machinery of federal justice in the Southern District of New York was put together in 1905 and 1906. There is no quick, easy way to describe the meaning of the results produced by this machinery in the ensuing three years, but a few figures may give some idea. Up to 1906 no successful prosecution had been conducted in the District under either the Sherman or Elkins Act. In the next three years a combination in restraint of trade was dissolved, fines of over half a million dollars were obtained from two corporations for infractions of the Elkins Act, eight officials of three corporations were fined or imprisoned for violations of the law, almost $3,000,000 were recovered from corporations that had by systematic fraud withheld these monies from the government. In the course of these prosecutions rulings were made on disputed points in the laws regulating corporations which, later sustained by higher courts, made the regulation of great companies easier in the future. Finally, the publicity obtained in these trials demonstrated to the citizens, as the President had wished from the beginning, the power of the government to provide controls for the behavior of the new corporate energy.[25]

The point of this extended anecdote is, I assume, clear enough, but I would like to make one or two summary observations. When an American President sets out to give substance to the hot gospels of the whistle-stops, he finds, often enough, that he has first to fit together a good many odd small pieces. To give meaning, in this instance, to his declaration that the government had the power to control the actions of industrial combinations the President had to appoint an Attorney General and a U. S. District Attorney; he had to obtain a new piece of enabling legislation and to appoint a new District Judge. In so doing he had to concern himself with the frictions developed in the State party machinery, the son-in-law of a Senator's second wife, a bill buried beneath Congressional deliberations, and a struggle for power in a County Committee.

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[24] Elihu Root gave a copy of the round robin to Stimson. It is in the Stimson Papers.

[25] Stimson to Bonaparte, Aug. 14, 1908, Stimson Papers.

In this instance the President, it must be recognized, acted with skill and decision to obtain his ends. Anyone really familiar with his career can think of countless episodes of similar import when the President reached far down into the hidden recesses of the government to restore energy in the working parts. Once he brought a lieutenant back from China to teach the Navy how to shoot; once he jumped an officer fifty-seven numbers to give a new direction to the military establishment; once he reorganized a section of the Department of the Interior to protect great reaches of the Far West from private depredation. By these small, frequently concealed means he achieved very great and continuing effects. And each of these small means involved him in a multitude of minor actions and decisions—the resolutions of local conflicts of interests, the selection of appropriate men, the elimination of inappropriate men, the resistance to threats of influence subtly or crudely applied.

Three things it seems to me enabled the President to deal so successfully with these occasions, to achieve his large effects from his small means. He had, first, a miraculous sense of the forces at play in any political situation—he knew within very strict tolerances what was possible and what was impossible to do. This was not all the product of miraculous powers, of God-given insights and intentions. As anyone who has read his letters or the remarkable book of Howard Beale on Roosevelt's conduct of foreign affairs must know, the President always did his homework. Down to the last vote he knew, because he had taken the trouble to find out, the strength of factions in a local County Committee; down to the last mile of barbed wire he knew the boundary lines of western land enclosed by illegal fences when he sought redress for the government.

A second source of strength in these situations was that he knew what he wanted to do—he wanted the Navy to shoot straight; he wanted to recreate the Republican strength in the states of the South; he wanted, in the instance under review, to bring industrial energy within the frame of federal law. He had, in other words, almost always a secure position which enabled him to make the clear, decisive action, to discriminate between the irrelevant and the absolutely necessary.

Finally, he could both pick and attract good men. In the instance under review the three men he selected to carry through the work in hand were Moody, Stimson, and Hough—the first one of the most successful Attorney Generals in our history, the second one of the most effective U. S. Attorneys ever appointed to the Southern District, and the third by the common consent of his contemporaries one of the most active and thoughtful judges to sit on a District Bench in their time. But it was not only the capacity to pick the particular man for the particular job. Around Roosevelt at all times were to be found men of energy, probity, and ability—Root and Taft of course and Moody and Bonaparte and Paul Morton and George Von Lengerke Meyer for example. They set up a tone and atmosphere that this President—indeed any President—needs in support of his better self. On any President every day are brought to bear the painful pressures caused by immediate political convenience—the claims of a Platt, the need for a more stable majority in Congress, the restiveness of voters in a border state, and so on. The daily pressures of these small claims, the daily exposure to sophisticated argument can wear a President down. It is under these conditions that a Herbert Parsons, in public life because of Theodore Roosevelt, in Congress because of the President's support, can usefully call upon a President "very tired" in the White House after a very busy day and urge again for the third time the selection of the best candidate; it is under these conditions that a Root, a Taft, a Moody can contrive the round robin that gets one of the best candidates appointed. The strength of Theodore Roosevelt derived in no small part from the fact that he could bear to have really able men around him and that he could bear also to listen to the news they had to tell him.

I have mentioned three sources of strength in this President—his ability to calculate the forces in a situation; his sense of direction; his skill in selecting men. There was a fourth source. He believed in the dignity and importance of his job and he absolutely loved it. He could not bear to think that in any of the farthest reaches of the executive authority of the United States there existed rotting or withered branches. Whether in the Customs House in San Francisco or the office of the

U. S. Attorney of the Southern District of New York he sought representatives of his power who were responsible and alive. To them he communicated—by suggestion, by recommendation, by constant exchange of view, and the creation of the sense of his availability—his own feelings of responsibility and life. Men remote from Washington—in Customs Houses, District Offices, Embassies, wherever the power of the President ran in Roosevelt's time—worked with something of his own intensity and desire because he was in the White House. It was through this kind of executive achievement that—in countless government offices scattered around the world—the great generalizations of the Square Deal, the bright posters, were supplied in these years with impressive substance and meaning.

# The Handling of Controversial Material in High School Textbooks in American History

FREDERICK S. ALLIS, JR.*

In March, 1845, a young man named Marcius Willson delivered an address before the New Jersey Society of Teachers and Friends of Education entitled "A Critical Review of American Common School Histories."[1] Mr. Willson, who was soon to produce several common school histories of his own,[2] began his remarks with the following statement:

> The importance of the subject announced will be manifest, when it is remembered that it is from our *common school* histories, those unassuming companions of the school-room, and not from those more elaborate writings which grace the libraries of the men of wealth and the professional scholar, that the great mass of our citizens must ever derive their knowledge of the character, toils, and privations of our fathers, and of the origin and nature of our free institutions.[3]

In the years since 1845, investigation of the content of school textbooks in American history has become something of a national pastime. Certainly a long and heterogeneous procession of Americans has engaged in it, among them such strange fellow marchers as historical associations, churches, newspapers, veterans' organizations, utility companies, women's clubs, patriotic societies, racial groups, pacifist committees, labor unions, state legislatures, and international agencies; an assortment of individual scholars, lawyers, graduate students, and plain crackpots; and finally, a happily unique organization called the Patriot League for the Preservation of American History.[4] Almost everyone in the United States, it would seem, has at one time or another become aroused about the content of textbooks, always excepting of course the students themselves. Yet no matter what purpose lay behind the various investigations, the analysts all started from Mr. Willson's premise—that what children learned in school from United States history books would influence their later attitudes and actions as mature citizens and that the content of these texts was consequently a matter of public concern. This premise cannot be accepted without qualification: on the one hand, the influence of a gifted teacher will always be greater than that of any textbook; on the other, many children never remember much of anything that they read, let alone what they read in school. Even with these qualifications, however, the American history textbook can play a significant part in determining later civic attitudes, and the importance of its content can be accepted as a useful point of departure for this paper.

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* This paper was read at the April, 1959, meeting.

[1] Marcius Willson, *A Critical Review of American Common School Histories* (New York, 1847). For Willson see *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, x (1900), 39.

[2] Willson later wrote *Juvenile American History*, *History of the United States*, *American History*, and *Comprehensive Chart of American History*.

[3] Willson, *Critical Review*, p. 1.

[4] On the Patriotic League see Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States* (New York, 1926), pp. 223–224.

## I

Marcius Willson's own textbook analysis was hardly profound. He was primarily concerned with demonstrating that many of the dates given in the textbooks of his day were inaccurate and that, furthermore, the texts themselves were filled with grammatical errors. He closed his piece with a triumphant list of ten instances where "who" had been used instead of "whom," all taken from the unfortunate writings of Mrs. Emma Willard.[5] Yet it was not long before more serious attempts were made to examine and revise textbooks. Before the Civil War, Southern nationalists, fearful that their youth would be contaminated by reading "abolition works," sought to replace existing history books with ones more favorable to the South, and particularly to the institution of slavery.[6] After the war veteran organizations north and south embarked on campaigns to protect the youth of their respec-

[5] Willson, *Critical Review*, p. 23. Mrs. Willard answered Willson's attack in her *An Appeal to the Public, especially Those concerned in Education, against the Wrong and Injury done by Marcius Willson in his Pamphlet entitled "Report on American Histories, etc. published by Mark H. Newman & Co. New York, 1847," showing also Their Trespasses on my Literary Property* (New York, 1847), in which she accused Willson of having plagiarized from her book and of having made his attack to discredit her work and promote sales of his own texts. She pointed out that "who" was often used colloquially for "whom" and that these so-called errors had been corrected in later editions anyway. In general, Mrs. Willard's pamphlet bore testimony to the fact that Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned.

[6] On the attempts of the Southern nationalists to revise textbooks see Pierce, *Public Opinion*, pp. 136–146.

tive sections from misguided interpretations of the "War Between the States."[7] With the rapid growth of parochial schools, Roman Catholic educators began to press for texts that would give full recognition to the contribution of Catholics in the history of our country.[8] Before 1900, however, demands for particular interpretations of American history led not so much to revisions of existing texts as to the publication of new ones; the market for textbooks had not become national as yet, and it was perfectly possible to supply local books for local tastes.

For the most part the nineteenth-century history books were not worth fighting about. At about the turn of the century, however, the influence of professional historians began to be felt on textbook writing when the American Historical Association and kindred historical and educational societies entered the field. These organizations were concerned with the proper teaching of history in the schools and were determined to use their influence to promote high standards. The professionals had little good to say about the texts of the time: the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association admitted rather grudgingly that a textbook was probably necessary in school history courses but thought that contemporary books were "likely to furnish an insufficient mental pabulum" by themselves.[9] The Committee on Text-Books of the New England History Teachers' Association felt so strongly about the old histories that it included the following burlesque on how to write one as part of its report:

> Say nothing about the physical features of the continent, but extol the virtues of the noble Indian; dwell on the brilliant intellect, the undaunted courage, and the magnificent faith of Columbus, the hardships of the Pilgrims, the grim sternness of the Puritans, the simplicity of the Quakers, and the quaintness of the Dutch; show how the Revolution was due solely to the brutal tyranny of the British, and how Washington and Franklin had, in supreme degree, all the virtues ever exhibited by men in their respective spheres, and not a single fault; characterize the Constitution as "the greatest product of the human mind," but avoid much reference to it after its adoption; cut up the period after 1789 into four-year morsels, and give to the mastication of each about the same amount of space; dwell on the enormities of England after the peace of 1783, and the glorious victories of the war of 1812, not omitting mention of Jackson's cotton-bales and Perry's green-timber fleet; show what a lovely thing the era of good

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[7] On the postwar activities of veteran organizations see *ibid.*, pp. 146–171.

[8] Textbooks for Catholic schools are discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 171–184.

[9] Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in Schools* (New York, 1899), pp. 90–91, 144.

> feeling was, and how the South went all wrong about nullification, slavery, and the Civil War: add in an appendix the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and a list of Presidents; and then enliven the whole by a profusion of fancy pictures, including "Washington Crossing the Delaware," "A Winter at Valley Forge," "An Emigrant Train," and "Welcome Englishman."

If this formula were followed, the Committee suggested ironically, the result would be a book "admirably adapted to the training of citizens and patriots."[10] The interest of professional historians in the teaching of history in schools, coming as a part of an increased interest in the study of history generally, had a profound effect on textbook writing. Distinguished American historians—for example, Albert Bushnell Hart, Edward Channing, Andrew C. McLaughlin, and Claude H. Van Tyne—wrote school textbooks, and within a generation the great majority of school histories were either the work of scholars or based on scholarly production.

After World War I a major explosion took place in the field of American history textbooks. The Hearst newspapers, supported by the Knights of Columbus, the Sons of the American Revolution, the American Legion, and other patrioteers, led a concerted attack on school histories on the ground that they were pro-British.[11] The Hearst writer Charles Grant Miller, in a series of articles that were later expanded into a book entitled *The Poisoned Loving-Cup,* charged that "revisionist" historians had engaged in "outright vandalism . . . upon our history,"[12] while Judge Wallace McCamant of the Sons of the American Revolution indicted David S. Muzzey's text for its slighting of military events, its praise of LaFollette and Woodrow Wilson, and its softness on socialism.[13] The furor aroused by these bigoted attacks spread to local and state governments and resulted in investigations and state textbook laws. Finally, the American Legion decided that the only sensible way of combating what it called "treason texts" was to publish a school history of its own that would be "absolutely honest . . . in no sense boastful or extravagant . . . [but which would] be careful to tell the truth optimistically." Though a Legion brain child actually did appear in a limited edition, it was never used in schools,[14] and there were no further attempts to produce books that would, in Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger's phrase, leave out everything but the hurrahs in American history.[15] Scholars fully realized the dangers of the patrioteer campaign: in a formal protest the American Historical Association denounced the agitation as one that "must inevitably bring about a ruinous deterioration both of text-books and of teaching";[16] and eventually the attacks subsided.

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[10] Committee on Text-Books, "Text-Books in American History," New England History Teachers' Association, *Publications,* No. 3, p. 5. The report was presented at a meeting of the Association on Oct. 15, 1898.

[11] For the postwar attacks on history textbooks see Pierce, *Public Opinion,* pp. 206–294.

[12] Charles G. Miller, *The Poisoned Loving-Cup* (Chicago, 1928), p. vii.

[13] Wallace McCamant, *Muzzey's School History* (n. p., n. d.), pp. 9–11. The report, apparently presented to a meeting of the Sons of the American Revolution on July 22, 1922, concludes (p. 16): "The inquiry naturally rises in the mind whether there are not in existence textbooks of American history better fitted for the children of American parents, and if so, why they are not in use."

During the period between the two World Wars, in marked contrast to the activities of the patrioteers, there appeared the first serious objective studies of American history textbooks. The major pioneering effort was the work of Professor Bessie L. Pierce, whose two books, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States* and *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*, made available to the public for the first time a truly scholarly analysis of what school histories did actually contain and of what some of the more important influences on the writing of them had been.[17] In the 1930's Howard K. Beale, in his *Are American Teachers Free?*, presented a mass of evidence to illustrate the pressures on textbook authors and publishers and concluded that the books themselves were "either compromises forced on scholars by an uninformed public opinion or products made in accordance with public prejudice by men willing to write whatever will pay best."[18] During the 1940's a new movement sought to improve international understanding and preserve peace by improving the quality of material in textbooks. Three studies sponsored by the American Council of Education examined the treatment of Latin America, of Asia, and of intergroup relations in textbooks and called the attention of the public to existing inadequacies.[19]

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[14] See Pierce, *Public Opinion*, pp. 269–272. The Legion standards for its text are printed in *ibid.* as Appendix G. Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne suggested that the title of the Legion history should be "The Marvelous Story of Us." *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[15] Professor Schlesinger's phrase appears in his introduction to Arthur Walworth, *School Histories at War* (Cambridge, 1938), p. xvii.

[16] For the protest of the American Historical Association see Pierce, *Public Opinion*, pp. 296–297.

[17] Pierce, *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks* (Chicago, 1930). Professor Pierce's general conclusion was that "Textbooks are permeated with a national or patriotic spirit. Most books are pro-American. None can be charged with disloyalty to American ideals. Nor is there frequent criticism of American characteristics or of American activities. . . . On the other hand, the attitudes engendered toward other peoples through a reading of these books must, in many cases, redound to their ignominy in contrast with the glory of America. . . . Of all the books examined, geographies are the least inclined to paint the American as superior to other peoples, readers and histories being the most guilty in this respect. Moreover, many books do not preach a brotherhood of man, and the emphasis on war heroes and incidents is to exalt war over peace. *Ibid.*, pp. 254–255.

[18] Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York, 1936), p. 318.

Anyone who hoped he had seen the last of bigoted assaults on school books was doomed to disappointment when a biased and inflammatory series of attacks began to appear, in 1949, in a publication called the *Educational Reviewer*, a project of the Committee on Education of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations. The first attack was aimed, amazingly enough, at Magruder's *American Government*, a book that had been widely used in schools for over a quarter of a century.[20] Though the charges that the text was "collectivist" proved, on examination, to be full of misrepresentations, citizen groups demanded the removal of the indicted book from schools: in New York state the Regents felt obliged to set up a Commission on Subversive

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[19] See *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials* (Washington, 1944), especially Ch. 5, "United States History Textbooks," by Ruhl J. Bartlett and Roy F. Nichols, where the authors conclude (p. 77) that "the bulk of the references in textbooks in the history of the United States dealing with Latin America are made in terms of more or less glorifying policies which our neighbors interpret as either patronizing or predatory." See also *Treatment of Asia in American Textbooks* (New York, 1946), especially the chapter, "The Far East in American History Textbooks," by A. Imbrie Dixon, and *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials* (Washington, 1949).

The studies made by Pierce, Beale, and the American Council on Education were by no means the only ones published during this period. In 1911 Albert Bushnell Hart had broken ground with an essay entitled *School Books and International Prejudices*, International Conciliation [pamphlet] No. 38 (New York, 1911). In 1917 Charles Altschul's *The American Revolution in Our School Text-Books* (New York, 1917) appeared. Altschul believed that "The public mind must . . . have been prejudiced against England" as a result of the treatment given in most texts (p. 30). Shortly after this, Timothy Tingfang Lew, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at Peking University, published an article entitled "China in American School Text-Books" that appeared as a special supplement of the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* for July, 1923, in which he deplored the scant treatment given Chinese-American relations in most American textbooks. In the early 1930's John Harbourt wrote an article entitled "The World War in French, German, English, and American Secondary School Textbooks" for National Council for the Social Studies, *First Yearbook* (Philadelphia, 1931), in which he noted discrepancies produced by nationalistic bias. A few years later Arthur Walworth in his *School Histories* made a similar study for the wars in which this country had been engaged. In addition, during the 1920's organizations like the Association for Peace Education conducted studies showing that from thirty to forty per cent of the space in contemporary textbooks was allotted to war and to military events, while the analyses of the causes and results of war were slighted. See Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?*, p. 196.

There is a good summary of these early studies in I. James Quillen, *Textbook Improvement and International Understanding* (Washington, 1948).

[20] Frank A. Magruder, *American Government* (Boston, numerous edns.).

Textbooks; while in Georgia the bizarre suggestion was made that the Board of Education sell the thirty thousand state-owned copies of Magruder "out of the state."[21]

The latest, though undoubtedly not the last, sensational attack on American history textbooks, called *Brainwashing in the High Schools*, was published in the fall of 1958 by the Devin-Adair Company. Its author, E. Merrill Root, a Professor of English at Earlham College, presents the thesis that we are losing the cold war because our youth are not being given an accurate knowledge of our country's past and are therefore no match for the Communists in the war for men's minds. To document his thesis, he examines eleven high school textbooks in American history and comes to the conclusion that almost all are oriented along collectivist lines. Specifically, Root charges that students are taught that the United States is a democracy, when it is really a republic; that the Revolution is portrayed as a class conflict; that the Beard thesis dominates discussion of the Constitution; that the "seamy" side of American life rather than American achievement is stressed; that Hoover is damned and Franklin D. Roosevelt praised, unfairly in each case; and finally that no adequate attempt is made to alert young Americans to the dangers of subversion in this country. Root's methods are hardly scholarly: by innuendo, by lifting passages out of context, by counting pages and index references on particular subjects, he finally manages to put together a jerry-built case to support his thesis. It is a sad commentary on American education that such a disreputable book should have drawn the attention that it has and that leading textbook publishers have felt constrained to "answer" Root's charges.[22]

## II

With this brief account of some of the groups and individuals that have concerned themselves with textbook content in the past as background, let us turn to contemporary textbooks.

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[21] On the fracas over Magruder's book see Virgil M. Rogers, "Textbooks under Fire," *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1955, pp. 42–43. See also W. A. McClenaghan's contribution to a symposium on textbooks in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, April 19, 1952, pp. 17–18. For the "Georgia suggestion" see Fred M. Hechinger, "The Textbook Problem" in the same issue, p. 63.

[22] See for example the eight-page pamphlet entitled "A Reply to the Charges made in the 13 Chapters of *Brainwashing in the High Schools*" prepared by Ginn and Company, which effectively demolishes both the Root thesis and method. I am grateful to Ginn and Company for making this pamphlet available to me.

In the past decade there has been a dramatic change in format of at least the leading ones. Gone is the drab-covered text, printed in one column, with sometimes as many as a dozen pages of solid text. Today's leading school histories are big, bright-covered books, printed in two columns, and profusely illustrated with pictures, maps, diagrams, tables, and other visual aids. There is hardly a two-page spread of solid text in any of them. Most of the illustrative material is extremely effectively presented and reflects the steadily increasing growth of visual aids in American education. On the other hand, the two-column page brands the volume immediately as a workbook; no one could ever confuse it with something to be read for pleasure. The texts are written in simple language: some are checked against word lists to make sure that the student will not come across a word he does not know; others are specially designed for slow readers and learners; in other cases compound and complex sentences that existed in earlier editions have been broken up into series of simple ones. There are, in addition, elaborate teaching and study aids at the end of each chapter. Throughout the emphasis is on visual appeal, clarity, and simplicity.[23]

The new format means, of course, a much more expensive book to publish and consequently a greater financial commitment on the part of the publisher. The steadily increasing number of children in high school and the concomitant increase in the demand for textbooks make the stake even larger. Furthermore, the fact that the market has been becoming more and more national in character and the industry more and more competitive makes the stake larger still. In addition to those economic considerations there remain the wide variety of pressures from the public just reviewed and the quixotic reasoning behind the selection of a particular text by a particular state or local board.[24] All in all it is scarcely surprising that author and publisher alike believe themselves to be in strait jacket when the treatment of controversial material is concerned, and that the pressure to produce something acceptable and safe is almost irresistible. The wonder is that the books are as good as they are.

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[23] The reader is invited to examine any one of the three textbooks mentioned immediately below and to compare it with one published before World War II.

[24] See for example a letter from Mrs. John R. McLane, Jr., in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 1958, p. 28, in which the procedure for selecting textbooks is described as follows: "When our teachers get together to decide which textbooks they will buy, if as many as one or two parents have complained about as much as one sentence of a book, they will spend hours reading new books to find one that doesn't contain such controversial matter. Then the textbook committee of the school board goes over the selections, and those that can read look through them again to see if any subversive messages have escaped the teachers' scrutiny. If they find any, a new, still more bland book is chosen, or the old ones are used again with careful warnings about the offensive parts."

There seems to be pretty general agreement that the "Big Three" in the field of American history textbook publishing are *Our Country's History,*[25] by David S. Muzzey, published by Ginn and Company; *The Making of Modern America,*[26] by Leon H. Canfield and Howard B. Wilder, published by Houghton Mifflin; and *History of a Free People,* by Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, published by Macmillan. Muzzey's book, a hardy perennial that first appeared in 1911, has been read by more American school children than any other history text. Canfield and Wilder's volume, which first appeared in 1937, is the work of two public school men with the editorial assistance of such scholars as John D. Hicks and E. Merton Coulter. Bragdon and McCutchen's history, the newest of the three, first appeared in 1954 and is the work of a Phillips Exeter Academy history instructor and the Chairman of the Social Studies Department at the New York University School of Education. In the analyses to follow, the material cited will be drawn primarily from these three texts.[27] The selection of controversial issues to be studied is, of necessity, arbitrary. I have attempted to select representative examples from different kinds of subject matter; in every case, however, the material has been chosen because of its controversial character, actual or potential, from the point of view of the public rather than that of the professional historian.

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[25] This text has had several titles in the course of its long history. The 1911 edition was called *American History*; in the 1920's the name was changed to *History of the American People*; in the 1930's the name became *A History of Our Country*, which was used until the latest edition, which is called *Our Country's History*.

[26] The first edition of this text, published in 1937, was called *The United States in the Making*.

[27] I have examined many other texts in the course of this study. Some of them are not worthy of discussion because of inferior presentation, others because they are not widely used. Mention, however, might be made of three: Harold U. Faulkner and Tyler Kepner, *America: Its History and People* (New York, 1950), a solid, scholarly work written along topical lines that has never received the "glamorizing" treatment given to other texts after World War II; Lewis P. Todd and Merle Curti, *America's History* (New York, 1950), another excellent text; and Henry F. Graff and John A. Krout, *The Adventure of the American People* (New York, 1959), a lively and outspoken book by two Columbia University professors. None of these, according to available estimates, is in the circulation of the "Big Three," though it is of course still too early to tell how the Graff and Krout will do.

(According to the latest estimates, the Graff and Krout text has been very well received, in part, at least, because of the very fact that it does contain judgments on the issues it discusses. While it may not have displaced any of the "Big Three" in circulation, its success may indicate the establishment of a new trend in the writing of textbooks in American history.—F. S. A., Jr., December, 1961.)

One of the most sensitive topics for any textbook author to handle is that of war—and particularly the question of responsibility for a war. The origins of and responsibility for the Mexican War, therefore, provide an opportunity for studying how writers of school histories handle the problem. Each of the three leading books devotes about the same amount of space to the origins of the Mexican War, with each stressing the annexation of Texas as the major cause of the trouble.[28] There are some differences in the treatment of the California question: Muzzey never mentions the issue at all until after the war has started; the other two explain American interest in the region and cite attempts to acquire the area. Canfield and Wilder speak of the secret orders to Sloat and quote a passage from Buchanan's instructions to Larkin, explaining Polk's willingness to see California join the Union. Bragdon and McCutchen give a more detailed description of our early relations with California, mention Polk's restatement of the Monroe Doctrine, and quote a different passage from the instructions to Larkin, which they explain as orders to "stir up a revolution." All three deal with the Slidell mission: Canfield and Wilder give the most detailed account, while Bragdon and McCutchen are the most specific as to the reasons why the Mexicans refused to receive the American envoy; they are also the only ones to mention the war fever in Mexico as a contributing cause of the conflict. All three also make it clear that Taylor was ordered into disputed territory, though Muzzey suggests that if Mexico had been logical, it would have claimed land all the way to the Sabine. No one of the three specifically states that Polk was considering a declaration of war before receiving news of the attack on Taylor's troops, though Canfield and Wilder hint at it with the statement that "The trend of events convinced President Polk and most of his cabinet that war with Mexico could not be avoided."

All three texts deal briefly with contemporary opposition to the war, each citing Lincoln's position that the war had not started, as Polk had claimed, on American soil. Each mentions the abolitionist fear of a "slave plot," with Canfield and Wilder citing the Massachusetts resolution condemning the war as one of conquest, and Bragdon and McCutchen quoting from James Russell Lowell. The latter text and Muzzey both make use of Senator Corwin's remarks about the Mexicans welcoming the Americans to "hospitable graves." Finally, no one of the three books attempts to pass judgment on the facts presented; Bragdon and McCutchen come closest to it when they suggest that the war might have been prevented had Polk been more patient, but they add that the region acquired would certainly have become part of the United States eventually.

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[28] Muzzey, *Our Country's History* (1957 edn.), pp. 251–255; Canfield and Wilder, *Making of Modern America* (1958 edn.), pp. 274–276; Bragdon and McCutchen, *History of a Free People* (1958 edn.), pp. 289-293. Succeeding references to these three texts will be by author alone and will, unless otherwise noted, be to these editions.

Taken together, the three treatments of the origins of the Mexican War reveal methods of handling controversial material that are characteristic of American textbooks today. First, the similarities in the accounts are much greater than their differences; they all naturally make use of much of the same factual material and depend, as well, on the same contemporary comments on the war, for the most part. Second, with the possible exception of Muzzey, the interpretations are less nationalistic than was the case in the 1930's,[29] the more nationalistic approach having been replaced by one of neutrality and lack of commitment. Third, all three depend entirely on contemporaries for criticism of the war—Lincoln, the abolitionists, the Mexicans. The students are not told that some modern historians, as well as those contemporaries, consider the United States the aggressor in the conflict, though Muzzey hints at this with the statement that the war "has been condemned more severely by later historians than any other war in our history." Finally, all three omit mention of Polk's cabinet meeting to consider war, certainly a significant piece of evidence in any attempt to reach a conclusion about the responsibility for the conflict.

Changes have taken place in Muzzey's account of the Mexican War over the years.[30] The first edition of 1911 contained a good deal of outspoken opinion as to whether it had been a "just" one. Muzzey said, first of all, "The Mexican War has generally been condemned by American historians as 'the foulest blot on our national honor,' a war forced upon Mexico by slaveholders greedy for new territory, a perfect illustration of La Fontaine's fable of the wolf picking a quarrel with the lamb solely for an excuse to devour him. War is a horrid thing at best, and must some day be relegated by civilized nations to the limbo of barbarism along with human slavery, the torture chamber, and the stake. But so far as war can be the just means of settling any differences between nations, the war of 1846–1848 with Mexico was eminently just." Muzzey then proceeds to a strong defense of American policy. He concludes: "If there was anything disgraceful in the expansionist program of the decade 1840–1850, it was not the Mexican War but the annexation of Texas. The position of the abolitionists on this question was clear and logical. . . . We certainly assumed a great moral responsibility when we annexed Texas. However, it was not to Mexico that we were answerable, but to the enlightened conscience of the nation."[31]

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[29] See for example the conclusions reached by Arthur Walworth in his *School Histories at War*, pp. 56–57.

[30] It is unfortunate that similar examination of changes in interpretation from edition to edition cannot be made as well for the other two texts. It so happens, however, that Muzzey's is the only one in which, over a considerable period of time, changes in interpretation can be seen. Though Canfield and Wilder's book has been expanded and revised since it first appeared in 1937, I have noticed few if any significant changes in interpretation. Bragdon and McCutchen's volume has been in print only five years and has not changed in any important way during that period. I wish, therefore, to emphasize that I am not "picking on" Muzzey when, on several occasions, I note changes from edition to edition, but simply that I am making use of the only material available to me.

In the revised 1927 edition a good many changes appear. "The foulest blot on our national honor" now becomes "a blot," though the La Fontaine fable remains in abbreviated form. While Muzzey continues to defend Polk's policy vigorously, he no longer speaks of the war as "eminently just"; and it is at this point that he introduces the argument that Mexico should logically have claimed territory to the Sabine and not merely to the Nueces. In speaking of the opposition to the war, he adds, as an aside: "Such writing when we entered the World War in 1917 would have quickly landed the author in Leavenworth prison."[32] By 1943 both "a blot on our national honor" and the La Fontaine fable have disappeared, though Muzzey still notes that most "later historians" believe that Polk "goaded" the Mexicans into war. The Leavenworth prison aside is also gone. While he still defends Polk, Muzzey now says, "Opinion will probably always remain divided on the question of the justice of the Mexican War. . . . But those who contend that the war was not dishonorable can hardly deny that it was unfortunate. The only recompense of war is that it unites a people more firmly in devotion to the highest national ideals. The result of our victories . . . was . . . bitter strife and discord. . . . The fruits of the Mexican War, like the apples of Sodom, turned to ashes in our mouth."[33] This treatment remained in later editions until 1957, when the comment on the unfortunate results of the war just quoted was excised, along with the statement that later historians have charged Polk with having "goaded" Mexico into war. Many of the changes since 1911 were certainly due to considerations of space and to new interpretations; the most striking fact, however, is the gradual disappearance of commitment. As a result, the treatment in the latest edition, like that in almost all contemporary textbooks, represents a kind of fence-straddling neutrality.[34]

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[31] Muzzey, *American History* (1911 edn.), pp. 347–348.

[32] Muzzey, *History of the American People* (1927 edn.), pp. 299–305.

The treatment of our acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone is another topic worthy of examination. Here the three leading texts show little variation in factual material, though Bragdon and McCutchen devote only about half as much space to the subject as do the other two.[35] All three also deal directly with the question of the responsibility of the United States for the Panamanian Revolution. Despite the general similarity of treatment, which the nature of the material makes almost unavoidable, there are some significant differences in emphasis, the major ones appearing in the explanations for Colombia's refusal to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty, in the interpretations of the Treaty of 1846, and finally in the assessments of the responsibility for the revolution itself. Generally, there is no adequate attempt to explain why Colombia refused to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty. Canfield and Wilder simply speak of the Colombian Senate as "hoping to obtain better terms from the United States." Bragdon and McCutchen go a bit further when they say that the Colombians thought the American offer too small since the French Company was to get forty million dollars "for a temporary lease and rusting machinery." Muzzey's explanation is blunter: he says that the Colombian government was "under the control of a crook who had seized power and proposed to make it pay." (The term "crook" was "corrupt usurper" in earlier editions, but presumably "usurper" is not in the current word list.)[36] Muzzey implies approval of Roosevelt for refusing to raise the "generous offer" of the United States. (In the 1927 edition appears the statement: "It was a 'hold-up' pure and simple.")[37] In discussing Roosevelt's attempt to use the Treaty of 1846 to justify intervention, Canfield and Wilder use the phrase "acting under this treaty," implying that they accept Roosevelt's interpretation. Bragdon and McCutchen say nothing about the treaty itself, but they are the only ones to record that Roosevelt contemplated the seizure of Panama before the revolution. Finally, Muzzey makes a good bit of the treaty. He points out that Roosevelt "based this action (sending warships to Panama)" on the 1846 Treaty and states that the commanding officer of the *Nashville* was obeying the "letter" of the treaty when he intervened. Muzzey goes on, however, to point out in some detail that all previous American interventions had been to preserve Colombian sovereignty, while Roosevelt's was to prevent the restoration of Colombian authority. Two of the texts speak of the *Nashville*'s acting under orders, while Bragdon and McCutchen are content to record that she merely "appeared on the scene." Canfield and Wilder quote from the actual orders in a footnote and add, "These instructions insured, and were meant to insure, the success of the revolution." While Canfield and Wilder might be accused of hiding their light under a footnote, it is only fair to add that this sentence did not appear at all in the first edition of their work and was added only after 1950.[38]

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[33] Muzzey, *A History of Our Country* (1943 edn.), pp. 329–335.

[34] See, for the purposes of comparison, Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy* (Englewood Cliffs, 1955), p. 248, where the following statement appears: "Thus to the American public, unacquainted with the deliberations in Polk's cabinet, the ostensible cause of the war with Mexico was the Mexican attack upon Captain Thornton's dragoons. Thanks to James K. Polk's meticulous recording of his daily activities in his diary, it is now clear that he and his advisers, with a single dissenting vote, had chosen war before they knew of the attack—a war to punish the weak Mexican government for its refusal to receive Slidell and negotiate a settlement of the American claims and the disputed boundary. Back of these reasons lay Polk's determination to possess California—peaceably if he could, forcibly if he must." This, of course, is by no means the only possible interpretation of Polk's policy, but there is certainly commitment to a definite position on the part of the author.

[35] Muzzey, pp. 419–423; Canfield & Wilder, pp. 635–638; Bragdon & McCutchen, pp. 467–468.

In dealing with the question of responsibility for the revolution in Panama, none of the three texts takes a clear-cut position. All quote Roosevelt's defense, while Muzzey adds that Root and Hay also approved the American policy (as well they might). All three, in varying degree, note the existence of opposition to Roosevelt's actions. Bragdon and McCutchen suggest that it was unreasonable to insist on the Panama route, when a sea level canal closer to the United States could easily have been constructed in Nicaragua. Canfield and Wilder state that criticism, "as might be expected," arose over sending ships and interference with Colombia's rights as a nation. They counter, however, with the statement that there is no evidence that the United States had "stirred up" the revolution, which is begging the issue, and close with a strong statement from Roosevelt himself. All but Muzzey speak of the harmful effect of American policy in Panama on other Latin American countries, and all but Bragdon and McCutchen include the final payment to Colombia in 1921, though none explains why payment was made. Canfield and Wilder had an oblique reference to American oil companies in a footnote in their first edition, but it disappeared after 1950.[39]

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[36] Muzzey, *A History of Our Country* (1943 edn.), p. 569.

[37] Muzzey, *History of the American People* (1927 edn.), p. 541.

[38] Compare Canfield & Wilder, *United States in the Making* (1937 edn.), p. 679, *n.* 1, with their *Making of Modern America* (1950 edn.), p. 636, *n.* 1.

In their accounts of the Panama affair the three textbooks exhibit most of the same characteristics in dealing with controversial material that were noted in their treatments of the Mexican War—basic similarity, the use of quotations from contemporaries, the lack of final commitment. It is interesting to note one additional point. While all three accounts are scrupulous in mentioning the case both for and against Roosevelt, the order in which the two points of view are presented can have a significant effect on the conclusion a reader might reach. Generally speaking, the case presented last, being the one left with the reader, will appear stronger. It is almost as if the first position were preceded by an "although." For example, both Muzzey and Canfield and Wilder conclude their passages on the question of responsibility for the revolution with strong quotations from Roosevelt, while Bragdon and McCutchen close with their statement about the unreasonableness of insisting on Panama when Nicaragua was available. Whether the order in which the two sides are presented was determined consciously or not, the effect is the same; and the general impression received is that the first two pretty much support Roosevelt's policy, while the last is critical. Yet none of them says so, and their neutrality in this area is less defensible since there is certainly more agreement among historians about Panama than about the Mexican War.[40]

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[39] See Canfield & Wilder, *United States in the Making* (1937 edn.), p. 681. The sentence read: "Thereafter American oil interests met with less opposition in Colombia."

[40] See, for purposes of comparison, one of the latest interpretations of Roosevelt's policy, in George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900–1912* (New York, 1958), pp. 154–155. Mowry says: "The President denied repeatedly that he had participated in

Domestic issues can be as controversial as international ones and can pose equally difficult problems for textbook writers. Let us examine next what the three texts have to say about the problem of disloyalty. Analyzing textbook treatment of federal policy on disloyalty after World War II is like potting sitting birds. Since the market demands that the books be "up to date," all three texts deal with the issue in this period; but with public opinion and policy shifting so rapidly, no author can be expected to commit himself to much of anything in dealing with contemporary problems, even if he wanted to. A fairer approach will be to limit the discussion to the period before World War II and to concentrate particularly on the Alien and Sedition Acts and on government policy during the First World War.

In dealing with the Alien and Sedition Acts, the three texts follow the usual pattern; they give factual accounts of the acts themselves and of contemporary protests against them.[41] Muzzey calls the Sedition Act "especially harsh" and adds that the "wisest" Federalists disapproved them. Both Bragdon and McCutchen and Canfield and Wilder use the Lyon case as an example of how the Sedition Act was enforced, with the former emphasizing particularly the popular support given Lyon. Unlike the other two, Bragdon and McCutchen give real prominence to Jefferson's inaugural; furthermore, they do not attempt to avoid Jefferson's position on disloyalty. They describe him as asking the question "What is to be done with those 'who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form?' " and then answering it with the famous "Let them stand undisturbed" statement. While this passage is not directly related to the Alien and Sedition Act program, and while the authors make no comment upon it, its inclusion gives to the Bragdon and McCutchen treatment of disloyalty during this period a dimension not found in the other two texts.

Bragdon and McCutchen are also the only ones to deal at all ade-

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any way in starting the Panama revolution. But there is no question that he let important people know that he would be happy with a revolution and that these wishes were reflected in the American press as well as known to the Panama conspirators in New York. The presidential invitation to revolt by indirection, the remarkable split-second timing of the USS *Nashville*'s arrival in Panama, the utterly indefensible interpretation of the transit treaty with Colombia, and the indecent haste in the recognition of the new Panama Republic made Roosevelt a moral accomplice both before and after the act. The whole affair suggested that for Roosevelt ethics stopped at the tidewater beyond which lay a moral jungle where power was the only rightful determinant."

[41] Muzzey, pp. 158–159; Canfield & Wilder, pp. 157–158; Bradgon & McCutchen, pp. 174, 181.

quately with the problem of disloyalty during the Civil War; the other two include little beyond random mention of Copperheads and Vallandigham. It is not until the period of World War I that the issue is again treated as an important one in all three texts.[42] They all describe the Espionage and Sedition Acts in similar fashion and then comment on the measures and their enforcement, which all but Canfield and Wilder agree was harsh. Muzzey quotes from his colleague Charles Beard on the abuses of the acts and concludes: "Civil liberty yielded to conformity." He asserts, furthermore, that most of the newspapers censored during the period were anything but "seditious" in character. He then attacks the enforcement program of the Department of Justice and remarks on the harmful effects of encouraging busybodies to spy on their neighbors. Muzzey's summary is worth quoting in full:

> It is not easy to determine the limit to which the government of a liberty-loving people should go in repressing freedom of speech and writing in a great national emergency. The courts now lean toward drawing the line upon the clearness and nearness of the danger involved. The great mass of our people were loyal to the cause for which we were fighting. Hence, it should have been enough for the government to punish unlawful *acts* or *deeds* of violence. There is reason to believe that what little opposition to the war or the government existed in speech or writing would have played itself out. As Justice Holmes said, "Whoever knew truth to be bested in the open competition of the market place?"[43]

Muzzey concludes his treatment of this issue during this period with a factual account of the Red Scare, remarking that it aroused a "lively discussion" in the country. However, he devotes most of his space to the anti-Palmer position and places it last. In his treatment of the civil liberties problems of World War I, Muzzey is, on balance, clearly willing to stand up and be counted as opposed to the government policy of that time.

Not so Canfield and Wilder. After the usual factual presentation of the Espionage and Sedition Acts, they conclude: "Opinion differed [note the past tense] widely on the necessity for such drastic action. Many believed the law was powerless to reach those who were a real danger to the United States, but was an annoyance to thousands of well-intentioned pacifists and conscientious objectors. Others insisted that while freedom of speech and of the press was desirable in time of peace, these rights were dangerous in time of war."[44]

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[42] Muzzey, pp. 482–483, 491–492; Canfield & Wilder, pp. 669–670; Bragdon & McCutchen, pp. 527, 533–534.

[43] Muzzey, p. 483.

Bragdon and McCutchen's account, though briefer than Muzzey's, is equally outspoken in its criticism. After noting that Creel's propaganda efforts "helped to produce the very intolerance which Wilson dreaded," they speak of the Espionage and Sedition Acts as "so severe that they silenced opposition to the war or even criticism of government policies." This account is the only one that deals directly with the Supreme Court position on the Sedition Act. The authors quote Justice Holmes's "clear and present danger" doctrine but also make it clear that Holmes dissented when "the accused were apparently being jailed for unpopular political beliefs." Holding up to ridicule some of the anti-German measures taken during the war, Bragdon and McCutchen then deal at some length, relatively speaking, with the Red Scare. They brand some of the measures used to suppress radicalism as "so extreme that they endangered traditional American freedoms. . . . Aliens as a group were suspect, especially if they had Russian names. Several hundred were deported under a law granting the Secretary of Labor the power to expel from the country, without trial, any whom he considered 'undesirable residents.' " The authors explain the furor's subsiding "as the Bolshevist tide receded in Europe, and as many Americans became alarmed by the threat to our freedom in denying to suspects the usual protection of our laws."

There are more differences in the treatment of disloyalty than was the case with either the Mexican War or the Panama Canal. Canfield and Wilder maintain the same neutrality, the same lack of commitment noticed before. Furthermore, although their text is the longest of the three, they devote the smallest amount of space to this subject. Bragdon and McCutchen, in contrast, devote more space to it, proportionately at least, than do the others. They take pains to emphasize the importance of civil liberties, and in cases where these liberties were challenged, they commit themselves, either directly or indirectly, to defending them.

Though Muzzey's treatment is not so inclusive nor so well organized as that of Bragdon and McCutchen, he, too, makes clear where he stands. And this is hardly surprising when one examines the earlier editions of his work, where he took an even stronger position on this issue. In the changes that have followed the commitment has remained; it is more the illustrative detail and some of the more extreme statements of opinion that have been cut. In the 1927 edition he characterized the Alien and Sedition Acts as "as foolish a set of laws as have ever marred our statute books," and states categorically that the Sedition Act violated the First Amendment. Furthermore, he adds, the charges against the editors were "ridiculous." In his treatment of the World War I material, he goes into much greater detail in the 1927 edition. He cites, for example, the case of Rose Pastor Stokes, who was jailed for saying the government was in sympathy with profiteers; he gives much more detail on Mitchell Palmer's activities and deals with the Lusk Laws in New York; and he emphasizes even more strongly the absence of real danger from the "few hundreds, or possibly thousands" of disloyal citizens and aliens.[45] In the 1943 edition the uncharitable remarks about the Alien and Sedition Acts have disappeared, but Muzzey now claims, in the teeth of Justice Holmes, that the Sedition Act of 1918 violated freedom of speech, and he heads his summary of the period "Mistaken Zeal."[46] This treatment continued until the text was rewritten in 1957, when more detail disappeared and the topic heading "Mistaken Zeal" also vanished. Despite these dilutions, Muzzey's stand on civil liberties is clear, even in the latest edition.

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[44] Canfield & Wilder, p. 670.

The second internal issue that I have selected for examination is the New Deal. Because of the intensity of feeling about Franklin Roosevelt and his works, the three texts approach the New Deal in a gingerly fashion. All are careful to present both sides of the New Deal issue, but none is yet ready to commit himself on whether its achievements outweighed its faults.[47] In dealing with the personality and character of Roosevelt himself, there is similar reticence. Muzzey handles the problem by comparing Franklin with his cousin Theodore and by showing that each was good at compromise, each able to dramatize issues, each a strong executive who "dared to act," and that each was looked upon as a hero in an age whose problems required heroic action. As a device for evading any possible charge of partisanship, the pairing of the Republican and the Democratic Roosevelts and the application of favorable comment equally to both is masterly. Canfield and Wilder consider Franklin Roosevelt "well qualified" for the presidency and speak several times of his courage, but conclude that it is still too early to evaluate him; they state, however, that he left an imprint on his age as Andrew Jackson had a century earlier. Bragdon and McCutchen probe more deeply and are generally more unfavorable to Roosevelt. They stress his good fortune in bearing the Roosevelt name and in being born to wealth; they cite Walter Lippman's condescending appraisal of him before he took office; they stress his abilities as a politician and as a manipulator of people but suggest that he was a poor administrator. And finally, they quote Harold Ickes and Robert Sherwood to show how much Roosevelt was loved and hated and what an enigma he really was. The treatments are all pretty colorless; there is hardly a suggestion as to *why* Roosevelt might have been either loved or hated.

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[45] Muzzey, *History of the American People* (1927 edn.), pp. 194–195, 673–674, 685–687.

[46] Muzzey, *A History of Our Country* (1943 edn.), pp. 204–205, 706–709.

[47] Muzzey, pp. 546–565; Canfield & Wilder, pp. 758–768; Bragdon & McCutchen, pp. 581–600.

In dealing with the New Deal program, the similarities in the three accounts again far outweigh their differences. Muzzey discounts the claim that the New Deal introduced a planned economy and suggests that much of it was played by ear—that "the squeaky wheel got the grease." Bragdon and McCutchen point out that the program was not anti-capitalistic but was rather designed to bring the American economy into balance, and furthermore, though attacked as socialistic, it was, except for TVA, clearly in the American tradition. Two of the three accounts attempt an over-all evaluation of the New Deal domestic program. Canfield and Wilder, probably because they treat much of the program under separate topics in earlier chapters—TVA, for example, is considered under conservation—do not essay such an appraisal but simply remark that it is too early to evaluate Roosevelt's work properly. Muzzey and Bragdon and McCutchen, however, come up with similar analyses. They both state flatly that the program failed to end the depression, and Bragdon and McCutchen add that there was fear that the government controls would lead to "creeping socialism"; they also acknowledge that the New Deal restored faith and showed the people that some one "cared" about their problems; and they point out that Roosevelt's vigorous leadership did not result in the weakening of democratic processes. They alone include material on the work of state, local, and private agencies in combating the depression. After agreeing that the New Deal did not end the depression, Muzzey states that the program did preserve and strengthen the American economic system, that it saved lives and self-respect, and that, most important, it "made democracy work" in a world that was fast being overrun by the totalitarians. Yet none of the three is willing to commit himself on the question of whether, on balance, the New Deal was a "good thing"; and when Muzzey speaks of Roosevelt as ranking with the "greatest" of our presidents, he attributes the remark to "historians."[48]

Finally, what do these texts have to say about the United States generally, apart from the treatment of any specific episode in its history? What kind of broad interpretation, if any, do they give of our country's development? Here the practice varies widely. Canfield and Wilder's interpretation comes at the very beginning of the book in an introduction entitled "Your America,"[49] which is divided into four two-page parts: "Industrial Giant," "Leader in Agriculture," "Nation of Free People," and "A Power in the World." Each section is followed by a handsome map, illustrating its particular topic. The announced purpose of this introduction is to show what the United States —"one of the mightiest nations that man has ever created" and one "founded on the highest principles that men of good will and common sense have been able to put into practice"—is like and how it compares with other nations, especially Soviet Russia. The first section gives a brief account of the various factors—raw materials, labor, "know-how," and machines—that have enabled American industry to lead the world, a fact that is documented by a chart showing the United States surpassing both Russia and Great Britain. The next section explains why the United States is "the leading agricultural nation of the world," and includes a chart comparing American and Russian farm production. An "important" reason for American superiority in this field is, the authors suggest, that American farmers have many more machines, especially tractors, than do the Russians. Under the section, "Nation of Free People," the American and Russian standards of living are compared, and a chart is presented showing the comparative amounts of time an American and a Russian must work to obtain certain basic commodities. The authors admit that "not all American families have a sufficient income to provide them with acceptable

[48] Muzzey, p. 547. In fairness to Muzzey it should be pointed out that this treatment in the 1957 edition is a good deal more outspoken than those in earlier ones.

[49] Canfield & Wilder, pp. 1–15.

standards of living," but suggest that our striving to raise living standards shows that we are "an energetic and ambitious people." Finally, there is a chart analyzing how Americans spend their money—the percentages on food, clothing, and the like.[50] Despite the title, there is nothing said about freedom here. In the final section, "A Power in the World," is a brief résumé of how the United States came to a position of world leadership, with emphasis on the cost, both human and dollar, of the wars in which we have fought. The section closes with a summary of contemporary American policy toward the rest of the world; we have "no aggressive designs upon any other nation," nor do we want more territory; we have contributed billions of dollars to other countries and have developed organizations and agreements to resist aggression; we respect the rights of other nations so long as they do not threaten the peace of the world, and we are earnestly striving to achieve a true and lasting peace.

In short, the Canfield and Wilder introductory statement is one long paean of praise for the United States, with special emphasis on our material achievements and our superiority over Russia. One would never gather from this introduction that we had any problems at all. The conclusion is inescapable that the authors have sought to reflect what they believe most Americans think about their country, and the chances are that they have succeeded admirably in their purpose.

Bragdon and McCutchen's interpretation of the United States generally is in sharp contrast to the one just examined.[51] After stating that the United States is probably the greatest nation of the world, with the highest standard of living, they suggest that a nation's true greatness may have little to do with its size or its ability to produce goods, citing the example of ancient Athens to prove their point. The lasting greatness of this country must, they believe, rest on something besides material things. They then proceed to list ten "characteristics" of "Americanism," most of which, they claim, go far back into our past: economic opportunity, wide participation in politics, belief in reform rather than in revolution, a mobile population, a high position and freedom for women, belief in education and widespread educational opportunity, concern for the welfare of others, toleration of differences, respect for the rights and abilities of the individual (which they characterize as the most fundamental of all), and finally world-wide responsibility. They go on to say that these characteristics are not necessarily exclusively American and that many of them have not been completely realized here—for example, slavery until 1865, religious and racial intolerance, unequal educational opportunity, and waste and corruption are all instances of a failure to realize these ideals. But this simply means that Americans, being human, are not perfect. In an epilogue at the close of their book, Bragdon and McCutchen sign off with two very effective quotations—one from E. B. White on the meaning of democracy, the other the stirring statement of Judge Learned Hand on the "Spirit of Liberty," given in 1944. Though they follow, for the most part, the usual textbook pattern in their failure to commit themselves on specific episodes in American history, and though they rely, in their epilogue, on quotations from others rather than on statements of their own position in their own words, Bragdon and McCutchen's stand on what they believe to be basic in the American tradition has a freshness and a maturity that set their general interpretation of this country apart from the more conventional treatments of the other texts.

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[50] Education is not included in the list. Below, in the text proper, the amount spent on education is indicated in billions of dollars rather than in percentages.

[51] Bradgon & McCutchen, pp. xi–xiii, 688–690.

The latest edition of Muzzey lacks, for all practical purposes, any over-all attempt to interpret the United States or its history. After a brief factual description of the land and people of America, the author plunges into the European background of the age of discovery and emerges, close to 700 pages later, with the election of 1958. This was not always so; indeed, in earlier editions Muzzey made very definite attempts to interpret the story he was telling. The last sixteen pages of the 1911 edition of his book are devoted to a discussion of "Present-Day Problems."[52] The greatest danger to the republic, Muzzey then believed, was "the corruption of the government by the money power." He called attention to the danger of trusts, the corruption in government, and the "shame of the cities," naming names and demanding reform. He attacked the Southern treatment of the Negro, addressed himself to the challenge of unrestricted immigration, and urged public opinion to make itself felt in connection with these problems. An aroused public opinion could bring the time when "we may see the saloon follow the slave block into oblivion and the millions now spent on engines of destruction [he had just spoken of twelve-million-dollar battleships] devoted to the eradication of disease and the enlightenment of the mind . . . the very material prosperity which is our boast menaces the life of our democracy . . . the manhood of the nation must rise in its moral strength to restore our democratic institutions to the real control of the people, to assert the superiority of men over machines, and the value of a brotherhood of social co-operation and mutual goodwill above the highest statistics of commercial gain."

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[52] Muzzey, *American History* (1911 edn.), pp. 609–625.

These preachments proved a bit strong for the 1920's, apparently; in any event, when the 1927 edition appeared, the envoi was toned down.[53] Muzzey's volume now closed with a brief review of America's past, a section on "The Strength of America" that described, statistically for the most part, the power of the United States, and then a section entitled "The Foes in our own Household." Here Muzzey listed what he thought was wrong with the country: we are a wasteful people, annually squandering vast amounts of lumber, natural gas, and coal; strikes and lockouts bring unemployment to fifteen per cent of the labor force, while another fifteen per cent manufacture "useless luxuries to flatter our vanity or positively harmful 'goods.' " "If we have the enviable record of leading the world in economic prosperity, we have also the unenviable record of leading the world in recklessness, instability, and crime." Preventable fires, fatal accidents, suicides, divorces, and murders are all on the increase. These are sicknesses in the body of the nation that must be remedied. But if we respect American ideals, the United States can continue to be the land of liberty. These ideals include liberty within the wholesome restraint of law, the opportunity to make the most of one's talent and industry irrespective of birth, creed, or condition; and finally, those basic freedoms spelled out in the Bill of Rights. In the last section of the book, which he called "Passing the Torch," Muzzey closed with a paraphrase of Lincoln, "In your hands, my young fellow students and citizens, lies the future of our country," and added that the "torch of our history was kindled at the sacred altar of liberty" and that it was up to the next generation to carry on that torch, as did the relay racers in the ancient Greek games. Whatever one may think of Muzzey's views, there is no question that he held pronounced ones, that he was thoroughly committed to a particular concept of the United States, and, perhaps most important, that he really cared about what he was saying.

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[53] Muzzey, *History of the American People* (1927 edn.), pp. 708–711.

This peroration, in one form or another, continued to be a standard feature of Muzzey's history through the 1950 edition. By that time suicides and divorces had disappeared from the list of "foes," and in the next edition the entire section—"Foes," "American Ideals," "Passing the Torch"—was gone. Though traces of "Foes in our own Household" remain in the latest edition in another place, the effect of the closing pages, as they appeared in earlier editions, has been completely eliminated. There could be no more striking—and depressing—illustration of the disappearance of commitment in the textbooks of today.

## III

It is not my purpose to pass judgment on the authors or publishers of these textbooks, nor to try to explain in detail the absence of commitment in them. There is no reason to suppose that the pressures Howard K. Beale wrote about in the 1930's have diminished; there is, in addition, as Professor Handlin has shown,[54] much in the very way a textbook is produced today that makes safety lie "in the refusal to arrive at conclusions" and makes judgments suspect. It should not be supposed, however, that this is the only field in our contemporary culture where lack of commitment is found. Yet while these circumstances may explain, they cannot gloss over the bald fact that with a few exceptions, commitment on controversial issues is notable by its absence in the textbooks of today.

Should a textbook author commit himself on controversial issues? Is it not better simply to present to the student both sides of a controversial question and then allow him to make his own choice? Certainly the importance of commitment in the writing of history for adults is axiomatic. The hallmark of competent, let alone outstanding, historical studies is the judgment they contain. The whole purpose of collecting and presenting material is to arrive at a point where a considered conclusion can be reached; to avoid reaching such a conclusion is to leave the task half-finished, to shirk the basic responsibility of the historian.

One of the most pernicious doctrines in the field of secondary education today is the belief that high school students must not be exposed to historical judgment, that they must be "protected" from considered commitment, that they must instead be given a kind of historical smorgasbord with something in it for everyone. The necessity for judgment in the teaching of history in high schools is, if anything, greater than elsewhere. Apart from the study of history for itself, high school courses are, consciously or not, training students to deal in the kind of materials that they will be asked to consider as citizens. If such students are to do any more than become infected with the conventional attitudes of their communities, they must be taught the necessity of examining both sides of a controversial issue and then reaching a conclusion about it. If neither textbook author nor teacher ever makes such a judgment, it is going to be difficult, if not impossible, for the student to realize the importance of any judgments in contemporary society. On the other hand, the example of a textbook writer or teacher making a considered judgment on the basis of available evidence—and furthermore, of doing it regularly as a natural part of dealing with historical material—can provide the best possible kind of training in the type of judgment the student will in the future be asked to make as a citizen.

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[54] Oscar Handlin, "Textbooks that Don't Teach," *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1957, 110–113. Professor Handlin cites the example of one publisher whose policy it was to "soften or remove" any expressions of the author's own point of view.

Controversial issues are admittedly difficult for a textbook author to handle; yet they are usually the issues that matter. As one writer has put it, "history *is* controversial. And the history of a country born in revolution and dedicated to revolutionary ideals is highly controversial. To deny this is to ask the pupils to deny their country's past and to start all over again as something like historical orphans."[55] As any secondary school teacher knows, students are quick to detect whether a teacher or an author really cares about what he is doing. A steady refusal to deal frankly with controversial material and to reach a judgment on it will convince students that the teacher or author is a kind of moral eunuch and that the study of history really does not matter. It becomes instead a dreary chronicle of names and dates. In contrast, a considered judgment in a controversial area can trigger a discussion that will not only illuminate the issue under consideration but illustrate the process of arriving at historical conclusions as well.

Some may protest that commitment in textbooks and in the classroom will lead to indoctrination, that we shall be doing precisely what we have attacked so vigorously in the Nazi and Soviet educational systems. Such critics need have no cause for alarm. The procedure suggested, if properly carried out, can never lead to the establishment of a "party line" for the interpretation of American history. Quite apart from the fact that apprehension about indoctrination credits the teacher or textbook writer with more influence on students than either actually possesses, there are built-in safeguards in the procedure itself. In the first place, a careful presentation of both sides of a controversial issue is assumed as a preliminary to arriving at a judgment, and this in itself implies the existence of alternative conclusions. Secondly, it is naïve to assume that the textbook or teacher will provide the only source of information on historical subjects that is available to a student; the influence of home, church, the movies, television, comic books, and other social fixtures will certainly act as a countervailing force. Finally, the greatest lesson to be learned from repeated consideration of historical judgments is the eventual realization, often painfully arrived at, that there are no final "answers" to difficult historical questions. In short, making a commitment on a controversial issue does not mean telling the student *what* to think about historical material; it means demonstrating, by example, *how* to think about it.

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[55] Fred M. Hechinger, "Textbooks and the Twenty-Three," *Saturday Review of Literature*, Feb. 20, 1954, p. 38.

A leading textbook publisher has said that, try as he may, he can "neither save nor ruin" American schools—[56] and this is doubtless true. The publisher's concern, except in rare cases, is to supply what the market demands. Most teachers are probably neutral on the subject of commitment in textbooks; many of them would like better books and would support them if they could find them; but since in many cases they have little to say about which text is to be used in their courses, and since most teachers stick pretty closely to whatever textbook is provided, there seems little likelihood that measures for improvement of the texts will be initiated from the teachers' quarter. In the last analysis, it is the textbook author himself who, if he believes in commitment, can bring more meaning to the study of American history in the high schools. Though this will certainly be a difficult task, it is not an impossible one; there are some excellent surveys for underclassmen at college that include historical judgment as a matter of course. And there is no reason why judgments need be excised if such surveys were to be simplified for the use of secondary school students.

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[56] Richard M. Pearson, head of the Education Department of Macmillan, in a symposium on textbooks in *ibid.*, April 19, 1952, p. 15.

In *The Goslings* Upton Sinclair quotes James Harvey Robinson as saying: "No publisher of text-books for the schools would venture to permit a writer to give children the best and most authoritative knowledge that we have today."[57] While this statement undoubtedly makes the publisher too much the villain of the piece, its basic conclusion is probably still true today. The prospect of having this limitation become an axiom of future textbook writing is an intolerable one. Let us hope that future authors and publishers can be convinced of the necessity of giving to the millions of American high school students "the best and most authoritative knowledge" that we have.[58]

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[57] Upton Sinclair, *The Goslings* (Pasadena, 1924), p. 307.

[58] Since this paper was first delivered, an article dealing with the same general subject, "The Gray Flannel Cover on the American History Textbook," has appeared in the January, 1960, issue of *Social Education*, pp. 11–14. The author, Dr. Albert Alexander, Textbook Analyst for the New York City Board of Education, arrives at much the same conclusions as those reached in this paper. He says (p. 11): "Many books present few or no serious problems. Conscious stimulation, on the part of the author, in the direction of improving conditions is less frequent today. More frequent is the flavor imparted to the reader that savors of the best of all possible worlds—a disservice to the intrinsic greatness of the American heritage. A point of view by the author, then, is becoming more of a rarity as controversy is consciously avoided and the issues often artificially balanced. Too frequently the modern American history textbook has the frightful appearance of an oversized menu which attempts to please everyone by quantity and blandness—the experience is hardly a memorable one!"

Dr. Alexander also quotes (p. 12) from "the prominent author of an outstanding textbook in American history" as follows: " 'I am deeply concerned about what has been happening to textbooks during the past decade. They look better. As classroom instruments, they are perhaps more carefully designed. No doubt they are at least as well written. But, in my opinion, the earlier books with which I am comparing them were much more honest and forthright in their treatment of social issues and of the people involved. In response to very real pressure (and *this* is something of which I can speak from considerable experience), publishers have become increasingly cautious, and, in trying to be all things to all men, are producing textbooks that very neatly skirt all the really important and, therefore, controversial issues confronting us today. This may be a bit too harsh, but it is not much too harsh.' "

# Reflections on the Alienation of the Intellectuals

### Crane Brinton*

I shall be brief in what I fear has to be called the usual semantic grace with which one begins a discussion of this sort. Both "alienation" and "intellectuals" are imprecise, prejudice-laden, unsatisfactory—and indispensable—terms. "Intellectuals" in particular gives rise to many misunderstandings. I recall a physician who protested indignantly against an article in the *New York Times* by Professor Lipset of Berkeley on "The Egghead Looks at Himself." This physician knows clearly that he is not an intellectual, but he knows at least as clearly that he is intelligent, and unfortunately he seems to believe the two words are exact synonyms. I shall try to use the word "intellectual" without overtones of praise or blame—though I shan't succeed—to refer to those who in our modern society write, preach, teach, do research, compose or perform music, act, pursue the fine arts, and those who regard their role as audience or followers of these people as the most important or significant part of their lives. I repeat, "intellectuals" in this sense is not a precise term. But the orthodox narrative historians have had to use terms—"liberal," "nationalist," even "New Light" or "Great Awakening"—which are hardly more precise, since like all such general terms they group individuals who simply cannot all be fitted perfectly into any Procrustean verbal symbol.

There has been a great deal written in these last few years about the state of mind of the intellectuals, especially in the United States. The subject is a natural one for the serious magazine of opinion in this country. The *Partisan Review* in 1952 published a series on "Our Country and Our Culture" in which twenty-five well-known writers, from both the academic world and the great world of letters, took part. Not inappropriately, perhaps indeed symptomatically, the final installment of the symposium appeared in a number of the magazine together with a part of the late George Orwell's autobiographical essay *Such, Such Were the Joys* which began: "Soon after I arrived at

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* This paper was read at the February, 1960, meeting.

Crossgates (not immediately, but after a week or two, just when I seemed to be settling into the routine of school life) I began wetting my bed."[1] The *Pacific Spectator* in the last year of its life published a less formally organized but quite as lively series on the place—not quite always on the plight—of the intellectual in the United States. Eugene Burdick kicked off firmly and accurately: "The intellectual in America is estranged. The fact has been remarked by persons as various as De Tocqueville, Simone de Beauvoir, and Geoffrey Gorer. From what the American intellectual is estranged and to what he is attracted are not too clear. But I, at least, shall not dispute the fact of estrangement." The late Albert Guérard, who was inevitably drawn into the ensuing scrimmage, characterized the tone of the other contributors: "In three consecutive numbers of *The Pacific Spectator*, *Homo Intellectualis* (not *sapiens*) has taken a series of resounding drubbings, and by expert hands. He is 'in a plight'; he suffers from 'malaise'; he is 'psychopathic.' "[2]

The spiritual condition of *Homo intellectualis var. americanus* has come to interest knowing editors of periodicals not usually classified as "serious magazines of opinion" and not commonly limited in circulation to the intellectual classes. *Esquire* in its number for February, 1959, published under the title "What Worries You Most About America Today" the results of an inquiry made in Cambridge, Massachusetts, a town which, in this respect countervailing what seems to be fashionable opinion among the literary in the United States, the magazine called the "intellectual capital" of the United States. All but one of the seventeen intellectuals interviewed confessed their worries, which were high, culture-centered, and apparently impersonal. Only one asserted that he was not worried. In so small a sample, I regard it as quite accidental that this eccentric is a scientist, or at least an engineer; indeed my subjective and quite unstatistically founded impression is that the scientists and the engineers, if not quite as worried as the poets, are still by no means serenely confident that all is well in their world and ours.

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[1] *Partisan Review,* XIX (1952), 505. The symposium was published in three numbers from May–June through Sept.–Oct., 1952, and reprinted as a single work in 1953 as Symposium Number 4 entitled "America and the Intellectuals."

[2] *Pacific Spectator,* IX (1955), 352, X (1956), 333. In the five numbers of the magazine between the autumn of 1955 and the autumn of 1956, the following writers took up the topic: Bruce Bliven, Eugene Burdick, Mary Ann Esser, Leslie Fiedler, Iago Galdston, M.D., Albert Guérard, Eric Hoffer, Russell Kirk, J. D. Koerner, Milton Rose, M.D., Max Savelle.

The sociologists, cultural anthropologists, behavioral scientists who, with the exception of a very few such as C. Wright Mills and Margaret Mead, do not write for the general magazines, big or little, have in their own media gone to work bravely on the intellectual classes. One whole number of the *Journal of Social Issues* has been devoted to "Anti-Intellectualism in the United States"; Edward Shils led off in the first number of a promising learned journal, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, with an admirable article on "The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis"; Dr. G. Nettler has even attempted to measure "alienation," not indeed primarily among "intellectuals," but most certainly with leads from the attitudes of our contemporary intellectuals.[3]

Now I do not intend in this brief paper to attempt to analyze this large body of writing on the intellectuals in America today. What I wish to emphasize here is that we historians, without abandoning our own ways and standards, indeed without wholly abandoning a certain distrust of the ways and standards of the social or behavioral scientist, can add to this current discussion a depth and a dimension that are sadly lacking in it. For to a striking extent those who take part in the discussion seem to believe that the phenomena they are discussing are new and unprecedented. Rarely have I seen asked the simple and to me as an historian obvious questions: How have intellectuals behaved in the past? Are there times and places when they seem to agree with Browning's Pippa that

> God's in his heaven—
> All's right with the world?

Are they more often in agreement with James Russell Lowell's

> Truth forever on the scaffold,
> Wrong forever on the throne?

In short, can we find from history any indication of at least a range, a spectrum of attitudes among intellectuals in different times and places, and can we perhaps even make a few tentative statements about what is usual, even perhaps normal, and what is unusual, perhaps abnormal if not actually pathological in their behavior in the United States today?

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[3] *Journal of Social Issues*, XI (1955); *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, I (1958); G. Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (1957). These are but samples; a few minutes' work in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* or in the *International Index* under the entry "Intellectuals" will net a surprisingly long list. Much has been collected in an anthology of the subject, *The Intellectuals*, ed. George B. de Huszar (Glencoe, Illinois, 1960).

I first became aware of this problem nearly thirty years ago when I was working on what became in 1937 Lowell Lectures on *The Anatomy of Revolution.* One of the clear facts of French intellectual life in the last decades of the eighteenth century is the extent to which the writers whose names have survived wrote in opposition to the established order in Church and State. The roll is familiar: Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Holbach, Helvétius right on down to the Marquis de Sade. In an interesting book by Professor Lyford P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution,* I came across the phrase "transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals" to describe one element Mr. Edwards found common to societies on the eve of major revolutions.[4] The phenomenon so described fitted in very well indeed with the conceptual scheme of "symptoms" of a coming revolution that was forming in my mind. Perhaps unwisely, however, as I now think, I shortened and enlivened Mr. Edwards' phrase into "desertion of the intellectuals," a term which does indeed seem to carry some weight of condemnation of the deserters.[5] The now current "alienation of the intellectuals" was almost certainly in common use twenty-five years ago. For one thing, the late Julien Benda's *Trahison des clercs,* first published in 1927, was widely read, at least among the *clercs,* throughout the West; and though Benda's "trahison" was neither "desertion" in my sense nor "alienation" as we now fashionably use the term, his *clercs* were indeed our intellectuals.[6]

I did not, however, use the phrase "alienation of the intellectuals" in my book in 1937, and in a revised edition of the book in 1957 I deliberately refrained from adopting what was by that time a very familiar phrase indeed. I now incline to wish that I had gone back to Mr. Edwards' original phrase, smacking a bit of sociological English though it does. For what "transfer of allegiance" does imply is that the intellectuals in these specific situations in history did indeed have allegiances to some specific thing—if only a specific "cause" or "movement" here on earth.

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[4] Lyford P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution* (Chicago, 1927), p. 38.

[5] Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (Vintage Books edition, New York, 1957), p. 44.

[6] The American translation bore the title *The Treason of the Intellectuals* (New York, 1928); the Beacon Press paperback edition (Boston, 1955) has the title *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals.*

Though I found that many intellectuals in the years before the great English revolution of the 1640's and almost all Russian intellectuals for several generations before 1917 did indeed transfer their allegiance to the cause that was to be revolutionary, and that, duly qualified, the phrase was applicable to John Adams' generation in New England, even then I was disturbed by a feeling I can put somewhat inelegantly this way: after all, aren't intellectuals, especially intellectuals of the word, writers, preachers, teachers, but also many artists and musicians, professionally bent toward high-minded complaining? Though the Greek root means to separate, weigh, judge, at least for modern times is there not justification for the folk-use that makes a critic one who judges unfavorably, one who complains?

Call the roll from Plato, yes, even Thucydides and Aristotle on through Tacitus, Dante, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, Pascal, Voltaire, Nietzsche to Camus. Surely "alienation" with its unfortunate overtones of the wrong kind of abnormality is not quite the right word here? And yet how few of the great thinkers do echo even faintly Pippa's "all's right with the world." Perhaps that list, which I fondly think is reasonably random, is actually rigged; and of course there are variations not alone among individuals, but among periods. Most writers of some of the great times of literary flowering—the Periclean Age before Plato, the Augustan Age of Roman letters, the high Italian Renaissance, the Elizabethan Age, the Age of Louis XIV—seem notably less hostile to the existing order, and especially to the existing political order, than those of the Age of Tacitus and Juvenal, the Age of Voltaire, the Age of Gogol and Dostoevski, not to speak of the Age of Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, and T. S. Eliot.

I realize that I am slipping into dangerous ground, and that I may end in the kind of morass in which we find Spengler, Toynbee, Sorokin, and the other prophets or philosophers of history. . . . And yet I think the questions with which I started are worth trying to answer as the historian trained in a great art and craft answers the questions he puts himself. At a minimum, the historian who starts from the grave problems that worry conscientious men and women of his own time can give these men and women the consolation, more, the steadying influence, of knowing that human beings have faced similar problems before. Such an influence is especially needed, in my opinion, in the United States in mid-twentieth century, where so many literate persons, though they may know vaguely quite a lot about history, especially the museum phase of history (Colonial Williamsburg) and the memorial phase of history (centenaries galore), have no awareness of, no feeling for, that most important phase of history which shows us how the past lives in us all, above all, limits us all. I should like to find a translation of the Swiss poet Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's "Chorus of the Dead," which makes my point as I could never make it. Perhaps you will forgive a few lines in my poor prose:

> We dead, we dead, are a greater host
> Than you on the earth, than you on the seas.
>
> And all our loves and hates and quarrels
> Beat still up there in mortal veins.
>
> We strive still for human ends—
> Then honor and make sacrifice! For we are many!

I submit that relatively very few Americans can bring themselves to feel that way about the past. Yet if we are going to be equal to the burden of leadership in the world that has been thrust upon us—in how great part by Meyer's dead!—we should have more of this feeling among more of us, if only to counterbalance our by no means wholly harmful belief that we are those new men, Americans, free of the past, the bad past.

I have not answered the complex of questions suggested by the phrase "alienation of the intellectuals." I console myself somewhat from one of Abbott Lawrence Lowell's bits of wisdom, which many of you have heard directly from him: it is at least as important to set a problem, to ask a good question, as it is to answer it. Let me in conclusion at least try to make more clear the problem in its current aspect.

Just now I spoke in passing of the Age of Faulkner, Tennessee Williams, and T. S. Eliot. That was indeed a rigged sample. Still, to go back to my initial list of work on the alienation of the intellectuals, it does seem clear that the serious art and literature of twentieth-century America, indeed of the Western world, is to an extraordinary degree gloomy, weighted with the world's woes, despairing—in fact, often abnormal, unnatural, inhuman. To make a somewhat naïve empirical test of this statement, pick up a copy of that accepted mirror of American literary taste, the *New York Times Book Review*, and go over the reviews, which really do try to report on the contents of books reviewed: How many novels are peopled with characters I shall mildly call unpleasantly abnormal? How many works of non-fiction could appropriately be entitled "What's the Matter with X"—better yet, "with N," for the series seems infinite? Is this gloom, this complaining, a faithful reflection of the attitudes and tastes of ordinary educated Americans?

Indeed, another more pretentious test of this sort seems to me worth making, though I'll admit that in the great tradition of our craft the whole enterprise must seem undignified—worthy, in short, of a sociologist. The test must of course be frankly subjective: I do not think any rigorous test done wholly without tongue in cheek is possible. But take a volume or two of a serious magazine, say *Harper's* or the *Atlantic*, from the decade of the 1880's and a volume or two of the same magazine for the 1950's. Set up in your own mind a simple classification of the prose (excluding fiction) into basically descriptive and basically hortatory; make perhaps a further classification of the hortatory into basically optimistic and basically pessimistic. I repeat, these are not the neat classifications the rigorous behavioral scientist would wish, but I think they will do. The important first distinction is not hard to make. Try it on Thoreau sometime. You may be surprised to find how much more often Thoreau is the preacher than he is the naturalist, more often the exhorter than the observer, the recorder.

You will, I feel sure, find a great deal more exhortation, and a great deal more pessimism, in the later volumes of these magazines. One conclusion at least can be readily established from even a cursory glance at those periodicals of roughly a century apart. In the earlier volumes, there will be found a great many contemplative pieces, often romantic or whimsical, often indeed mildly reflective of human foibles, but often also informative and descriptive, for which the established genre name is simply the "essay." In this classical sense, you will hardly find a true essay in the current volumes of these periodicals. The essay, a quiet, reflective, somewhat self-satisfied genre, is in our time dead.

Let me suggest very briefly two other phases of the problem. First, though there is in what the masses read and see and hear in the mass media much violence, much indecency, much if you like that is pathological, I do not think there is anything like the existentialist despair and self-pity that have gripped our leading intellectuals. That means that the gap between the few and the many—the moral as well as the aesthetic gap—is in fact great and, I think, not diminishing. What is the meaning of such a gap for a democratic society? Second, though of course the two world wars, the great depression, above all the atom bomb, give a sound base in objective conditions for the pessimism of our intellectuals, I question whether these conditions alone explain their state of mind. For the historian, if no one else, knows that only the atom bomb is really new—and the alienation of the intellectuals was already acute well before Hiroshima. Our Civil War remains by far our most serious war in terms of loss of life and damage to material things in this country; and though the material incidence—as contrasted with the psychological incidence—of economic depressions is hard to measure, I should think it possible to argue that the *relative* material damage from such depressions was possibly greater in several nineteenth-century troughs of the business cycle—notably that of the 1890's—than in the 1930's.

I repeat, I have asked but not answered the question, what is the explanation of the present state of mind of the men and women I have called intellectuals? Clearly any answer would be complex, would involve many variables, and could not be so stated that all would accept it as an answer. Notably, I am afraid, it will be difficult for many of us to accept what I begin to suspect is a variable of major importance. I suspect that not only American, but Western intellectuals generally, find it very hard to love, admire, or even accept the many who so recently, only a century or so ago, they confidently expected would turn into high-minded equals, or at least disciples, of themselves. The eighteenth-century Enlightened intellectuals thought that universal education would raise the many to the moral elevation these intellectuals were sure they themselves had attained. They measured the many in terms of their own ideals, their own self-image as intellectuals. It is hard—I am not being ironical—to realize that in this country the intellectual is to the many not a model, an inspiration, not even a leader—though if he is a scientist he may well be a magician—but an egghead.

# Memoirs

# Stewart Mitchell

## MALCOLM FREIBERG

STEWART Mitchell died in Brookline on November 3, 1957, midway between his retirement as Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society on October 10 and his sixty-fifth birthday on November 25. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1892, he was the fourth child and first son of the five children of Charles Lucius Mitchell and his second wife, Mary Suter Mitchell.

Young Mitchell was not yet five when his father died in the summer of 1898. If he remembered that parent, he never mentioned it; indeed, one never heard him mention anything connected with his early years. He had the writer's itch as a lad, with results that are to be seen in *The Franklin*, a publication of the Franklin School in Cincinnati, where he prepared for Harvard College. Mitchell graduated *cum laude* from Harvard in 1915 and received his Master's degree from the same institution a year later. As an undergraduate he continued his writing, contributing to *The Harvard Monthly*, of which he was then editor. From then on the Boston area was his home, despite trips and forays elsewhere.

A year of teaching English composition at the University of Wisconsin was followed by some two years' Army service in World War I, during which he saw active service in France as a field artilleryman. Between November, 1919, and November, 1920, he was managing editor of the *Dial*, a publication purchased by two other Harvard men "for the expensive purpose of promoting modern art and letters in the United States, and providing him with a job." Travel and study in this country and abroad occupied him during the first part of the 1920's. He told of the next decade and a half in the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report of his Harvard Class:

> In September, 1925, I entered the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Harvard, in order to obtain a doctorate in history. In 1928 I became managing-editor of the *New England Quarterly*, which was founded by Samuel Eliot Morison '08. I resigned this position in December, 1937. In June, 1929, I retired from my tutorship and spent the summer in England and France.
>
> In October, 1929, I became editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In November, 1939, I resigned this office, and returned to my home in Gloucester.

Having come into funds at about this time, Mitchell remained there and in Cambridge studying and writing until 1947, when the death in office of Allyn B. Forbes, Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, called him out of retirement to take over as the Society's Director and Editor of Publications.

In addition to contributing regularly to and editing both the *New England Quarterly* and the Society's varied publications, Mitchell wrote *Poems* (New York, 1921) and *Horatio Seymour of New York* (Cambridge, 1938), and edited *New Letters of Abigail Adams, 1788–1801* (Boston, 1947). But he will perhaps be remembered best as an historical editor. His training in English literature and in European and American history fitted him for the role, and his naturally keen memory and sharp eye, coupled with a sure ear for words and an occasionally brilliant wit, permitted him to excel. He was also aware of the impossibility of editorial perfection in this world, saying that he could never hope for a perfect issue of the *New England Quarterly* but only for as few errors as possible. Any editor will know the truth of that statement.

When the mood was on him, he could and did tell whoppers just for the sheer Hell of it. My own time at the Society began a month before his retirement so that I could learn the editorial ropes while he was still on the premises. One morning a telephone call from a sophisticated nuisance of a magazine in New York interrupted a conversation with him on one topic or another. Which Adamses were Presidents of the United States and of the Massachusetts Historical Society? the magazine wanted to know. None was, but Mitchell invented two on the spur of the moment. What about so-and-so? "Not he!" improvised Mitchell with a roar into an instrument carefully held a yard away, "he chose not to stand for the Presidency of the United States in order to become President of the Massachusetts Historical Society." Down went the telephone on its cradle, and back came Stewart Mitchell to our dangling conversation, wearing a sheepish grin.

Speaking with him on another matter not long after that, I was surprised to hear him reply to one of my queries with "Why, you called me 'Stewart'!" And "Stewart" it was after that, although timidly I had not addressed him by his first name in the first place, and he had in fact misunderstood me. I now think he deliberately chose to misunderstand, and I remember this instance (as others will remember other instances) as an example of his generosity.

He gave generously of his time in the remodeling of the Society's building that took place after World War II; he gave generously of his substance in recurring donations to the Society (he was the "anonymous donor" who figures so frequently in earlier volumes of *Proceedings*); and he gave generously of his energy in securing for the Society the Fund that bears his name. Generosity was, in short, one of Stewart Mitchell's great virtues.

# Edward Motley Pickman

### Hugh Whitney

When Edward Pickman died in 1959 he had been a Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society for just one day short of thirty-one and a half years. So much was history the dominant, life-long preoccupation of his mind that one is prompted to suppose he inherited an appetite for exploration in the past, and for projecting, as if on a map, the outlines of what he observed there, with his mother's blood. Her maiden name had been Ellen Rodman Motley. The author of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* was her uncle.

Edward's father, Dudley Leavitt Pickman, collected Chinese porcelains with loving discrimination. Of his love for landscape, equally intense and fastidious, a "bog garden" he devised at Bedford was the cherished labour. Without any explicit, *chinoiseries*, it curiously evoked the world of Chinese painting among those fields and woodlands by the Concord River, where already while his parents were living Edward too had sunk his deepest roots for good. It is surely no extravagant fancy that the son, as while listening to music he more and more discovered an incomparable satisfaction, thus renewed a delight, though transposed from eye to ear, his father had experienced in symmetry visibly perfected, the balance or succession of colours, of light and shade.

Friends (if one may parenthetically anticipate) thronged about Edward Pickman and his wife wherever they might be. But it was their house in Bedford the swarms most characteristically filled and surrounded, as bees do a richly stored hive. "The happy house," Mrs. Alfred North Whitehead named it, when she and her husband, most lovable of great men, went there often for a day or two, and during the freer summers could make longer stays. Some lines written for his seventieth birthday may hint what cannot be measured, how strong a hold owner and place will keep upon very numerous memories.

Now to redeem her meagre springtimes vain
New England wears incomparable dress;
Your stream has fired its imaged wilderness,—
Distorting glass of this beloved domain:

But we who fortunate are come again,
Who all your many open door-ways bless,
Rather perceive it as some river less
Than Loire which still reflects Ronsard's Touraine.

Yet powers vibrate in the atmosphere
That make October shout like sunrise here!
Changed leaves thus turn auroral foliage,
Whereof we would have splendours from your trees
To fashion you a treble crown with these,
Edward! for regal host, for friend and sage.

To take up the chronological thread: Edward Pickman, like his only, very little senior brother, Dudley, went to Noble and Greenough School, then housed a few doors from their parents' winter home on Beacon Street. His schoolboy attachment to baseball soon waned. But tennis he would play with skilful zest as long as he was able. In June 1908 he took his Harvard A.B. "cum laude," and an M.A. in history at Commencement the next year. Thereafter he attended the Harvard Law School. He received his LL.B. in 1912; but he practised law for two years only. In 1915 he married Hester Marion Chanler, who survives him. Of this marriage there are six children, two sons, and four daughters. Its grandchildren now number twenty-four.

The 1917 Declaration of War brought two years active service in the Navy. From April 24th, 1917, to March 6th, 1918, Pickman served on the Destroyer *Wainwright.* At sea, he once observed, the whole complement of any craft in her class were always sick; the sole question was how many of them would be able simultaneously to stand up. The horrid recollection neither alienated him from salt water (any embarkation upon it stimulated him like champagne) nor made his memory of *Wainwright*'s crew less warm. The ship reached Queenstown May 4th, where thenceforward she was based. Until January 1918 Pickman was an enlisted man. He was then commissioned Ensign. From March to December 1918 he was assigned to a post under the Staff Representative of Admirals Sims and Wilson in Paris. He was released from duty the following May with the rank of Lieutenant Junior Grade.

In the autumn of 1921 Pickman went abroad with his family for two years. As he had decided to study European history he thought it well to live a while in Europe. He followed lecture courses at the Sorbonne, studied for some months in Berlin, and spent the summer of

1923 in Italy. "For Westerners," he was later to write, "Italy is the textbook of history. I crammed there, the pleasantest cramming I ever did." But indeed, he has elsewhere noted, as early as 1903 a visit to Rome with his parents thrust the embodied past upon his adolescent senses, compelling him "to ponder how the Empire fell."

After his return home Pickman became an Assistant in History. First in this, and, "later in an analogous capacity," he was for some years deeply engaged in the work then done to revise, improve, and extend the selections of "source material" recommended as "collateral reading" for undergraduates who were beginning to study the history of Europe. For the results, as presented by a forty-five page History Department booklet of the time, he was in very large part responsible. Its introductory paragraphs display his personal style like a handwriting.

The Chamber Music Club was founded in 1925. Pickman's active enthusiasm from the start did much to ensure its success until Pearl Harbour ended the concerts it sponsored. By then, however, the Club had already enjoyed in the programs arranged for that series the best part of all existing chamber music worthily performed. Pickman was from 1927 to 1934 a Trustee of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. His connection with the Longy School of Music in Cambridge gave him a happiness which he endeavoured to repay by zealous services rendered in its practical interest. He was elected a member of the Board of Trustees in 1931. After ten years he became Secretary of the Executive Committee. Later he was successively Treasurer and Vice President. At the time of his death he had been President for two years. In 1925 the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum chose him to fill a vacancy among them; and, beginning in 1933, he was for many years one of their appointed representatives on the Board of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

During all the balance of the Twenties subsequent to 1923 Pickman was evolving plans for a book of his own on the large scale. In 1930 he began in earnest to write it. *The Mind of Latin Christendom*, Volume I, was published by the Oxford University Press in 1937. Almost simultaneously, alas! an hereditary arthritis came on with violence, and though his health would greatly improve at intervals, Pickman was never wholly well again. Sometimes he was altogether crippled. The anticipated Second Volume was never written as designed. He did complete, about a year before he died, the manuscript of a more comprehensive work entitled, "Sequence of Belief from Homer to Ockham." His widow has hopes she may be able to secure its publication. Otherwise, except for two papers read before this Society, *The Collapse of the Scholastic Hierarchy in Seventeenth-Century France*, and *Libertine Ideas in the Time of Richelieu and Mazarin*, printed respectively in Volumes LXIV and LXVIII of its *Proceedings*, Pickman's available historical writing is confined to the single major text put out twenty-two years ago.

That this was no superficial excursion across the area of Christian thought to which it was devoted (373–496 A.D. in the Latin West) is obvious from the alphabetical list at the back, where close to two hundred and fifty writers, ancient and modern, are named as "cited or quoted" in the body of the text itself. This last comprises more than six hundred and fifty pages. The "Author's Preface" and a revealing passage from the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report of his College Class, examine in the first person both the magnitude and difficulty of what Pickman undertook, and the motives for his undertaking.

We read in the former: ". . . as I reached maturity, as my experience took shape, I turned gradually back, for a further understanding, from the present to the past. . . . Europe . . . caught my imagination again—for Europe was Time, or at least our Time, and I, if I were ever to learn anything, was doomed to learn with Time as teacher.

"So I set out, wandering for many years, avid but aimless. And when . . . I found a direction, it was a backward one, from the seventeenth century, to the eleventh, to the fourth. I know now that what led me back was Christianity. Whatever century I studied, whatever land, whatever subject there was always before me the same gigantic phenomenon. To our Western history, at any rate, Christianity presented at once the tangible obstacle and the intangible solution.

"But I had no passion, no gift for religion. . . . How then was I to understand this history of ours? Must I become a Christian in order to be an historian? . . . I . . . felt that an historian might possibly benefit as well as suffer from the absence of this Creed. For history deals with objective phenomena; therefore the historian is bound to perceive and respect their objectivity. Only too well do I know that I can never understand a faith I do not hold; but my consolation . . .

my excuse for proceeding, . . . is that true Christians have so far failed to write histories that explain history: . . . They either take too much for granted or remain too blissfully unaware.

"I have chosen to start with the later fourth century because it was only then that Christianity began to transform our Latin ancestors—and so us. My book, therefore, is an attempt to make our whole history since then a little more comprehensible."

The above is dated in April 1937. The Class Report of four years earlier runs, in part, as follows: "Ah, what tender disillusions were here to await me,—" [i.e. after he commenced seriously to write] "a chapter finished, another, another. But as each was put away it began to stink, I must re-write it, then each and all begin to stink so that I cannot rewrite them as fast as they go rotten. . . . Thus at times I lose instead of gaining ground! If my book ever comes out in print it will not be because I have overcome the obstacles but rather because I shall have resigned myself to them, which will mean that dry rot has set in."

Pickman's apprehension of Christianity as the central fact and problem for an historian of our civilization was, in Cardinal Newman's special sense for the qualification, most, "real." Reading and travel gave that apprehension intellectual form, on which marriage to a profoundly Catholic wife added its living commentary. To solve the problem he so clearly apprehended in a fashion even approximately satisfactory to his historian's conscience, meticulously exacting like his habitual standard of honourable behaviour in everyday concerns, would have required a second apprehension no less, "real," than the first. It must have been such as would show him how Christian doctrines, affirmed as fundamentally involving a supernatural Revelation, present themselves to an educated intelligence at the moment when a person who has one becomes able to ask himself, but without inward assurance of the answer: "Can I believe them or not?" But to an apprehension of this kind Pickman could never attain.

He could not because, for him, "reality," must, *ex hypothesi*, be univocal. Beings had certainly multifarious values. His awareness of their shades of difference was alert and delicate. Yet among subjects that actually *are* he could judge the noblest no more, "real," than the basest. Well as he knew that Christians believed in a supernatural *Ens Realissimum,* what they understood by the term he was able himself to grasp only, as Newman would have said, in a, "notional," way. For words with which, in whatever secular uses they had, he was thoroughly at home, became foreign to him when assembled by theological reasoners, or for that matter by a metaphysician. The whole, immensely tenacious, central industry of his life was bent to re-master the purport of familiar words after their religious, "sea change," at least to such a depth that he and those Christians he knew and loved might thenceforth meet intellectually, though it were but to differ, with a genuinely common tongue.

Sadly enough, if he ever felt he had reached such a comprehension, it was of Christians whose argument had been a long while frozen, of Saint Augustine first of all, and of the Seventeenth-Century French thinkers who like Pascal counted themselves most faithful to the Augustinian tradition. Ironically it was, moreover, an interpretation of Augustine's predestinarianism as harsh as any Jansenist, or Calvin himself, could have wished it, which alone gave Christianity a likeness he recognized as self-consistent. Not, of course, that a taste so gently humorous could for an instant relish:

> "John Calvin whose peculiar fad
> It was to call God murderous."

One may, however, respect the courage of a conviction totally unpalatable. Towering behind Calvin or Jansen, Saint Augustine, as Pickman read him, might uncompromisingly sacrifice nature to the supernatural. He did not at any rate profess otherwise. And Augustine's reality seemed to Pickman admirably unified, as manifesting throughout a unique, authentically sufficient, operative Cause; though why this should operate so diversified a puppet show extraneous to itself was unelucidated. Yet had not the very persistence of this enigma been scientifically fruitful, because the implacable ubiquity of Transcendent Will, thus envisaged, positively solicited, through the hideous anxieties it provoked, its own translation in terms of omnipresent impersonal law? Cruel to many, this imposed on no victim at once guilt, which by the decree he could not, if he would, ever have failed to incur, and an eternal penalty.

As early as 1933, before chronic illness had overtaken him, Pickman's brief self-portrait already quoted touchingly exhibits a premonition that the formidable pursuit to which his best energies were vowed, vast as its chosen bounds extended, was yet frustratingly shut in. "Music particularly," he confides, "I do love with all my heart. . . . The gay Bach or the solemn Mozart is as unique and thrilling as the lyrical Stravinsky. Here are no mere three dimensions, but the infinite number familiar to mathematics. That is perhaps why in the Middle Ages music and mathematics formed a single study. History you see has only two—time and space. I like the relaxation of escaping occasionally from this confinement."

Was it just escape, or the door to initiation? Saint Thomas maintains as, "common teaching," the view, "that if a man . . . really does what lies in his power, God will reveal to him what is necessary . . . either by interior inspirations, or by sending him a preacher of the Faith." But the most persuasive preaching is impotent when words build walls rather than offer windows. The years of scrupulous study, of patient searching through time past, these efforts, anything but facile, lay in Pickman's power. And he made them. No thought has power to learn the most that time can teach which is inhibited from reading beneath the letter given. That letter preserves sparse fragments only from the temporal Odyssey's original recitation. And if, *per impossibile*, it held condensed for us the sum already recited as a whole, perusal could not educe an intrinsic, *raison d'être*, for this continuance, which has none. Neither, "sound and fury," nor rare passages transiently serene, unless construed to postulate their Narrator, can signify at last even an idiot's tale!

The present writer therefore prays, as he believes, that in his friend's heart, time's restless prisoner, music prepared an advent of the Holy Spirit, coming as the Possessor Saint Ambrose long ago invoked to be his own heart's guest, "qui sonet ibi sine sono et sine strepitu verborum loquatur omnem veritatem." And to strengthen the prayer's too feeble voice let another go with it, where Sovereign Grace and human freedom stand radiantly wed before the Blaze of God: *Sancte Augustine, ora pro nobis.*

# Horace Henry Morse

### Henry Latimer Seaver

Horace Morse (September 24, 1878–June 17, 1959) was born in Roxbury, then still a semirural suburb, and spent his boyhood in the shadow of "Tommy's Rock," the fine bit of cliff that would be the making of a small city park which is suffered by the City of Boston to lodge the litter of a slum, a stone's throw from Dudley Street. Morse used periodically to return "for a glimpse of the Rock from which I was hewn" and for rueful reflection on the defilement of a city which, for its historic past, deserved decent, even beautiful maintenance. He was heir—there were schoolma'ams among his forebears—to a fine New England tradition: devotion, against a modest background and out of meager opportunities, to acquiring and disseminating "sound learning." He profited gaily and gratefully from the grueling drill of the Boston Latin School and enjoyed his belief that he was descended from Ezekiel Cheever, master of the school for the last generation of the seventeenth century. Later he poked about a bit in the English Cambridge seeking biographical details concerning Cheever. Harvard College schooling was earned by so much of sacrifice that it could not mean much to him in social contacts, but it was an enchanting intellectual opportunity of which he availed himself avidly and thankfully. Most of all he liked historical studies and gave dedicated hours toward interesting young people, contributing several of the lectures arranged by the Old South Historical Society and delivered in its venerable building. On torrid summer Saturdays he shepherded flocks of youngsters, vaguely enthusiastic, to historic "shrines" of New England.

After graduating *magna cum laude* in 1900, he accepted a miscellany of jobs, assisting Professor Silas M. Macvane—he even liked him—secondary school teaching, cataloguing in the Harvard library—liking even that, too—and teaching history at Simmons, meagerly rewarding jobs welcomed as means of supporting an invalid and long-lived parent. At twenty-eight he began a service covering more than a generation at the Mount Hermon School for boys, teaching history almost into his eightieth year: he liked young people, and he liked the religious earnestness of the place, having in himself much of the Puritan—irradiated, however, by a lively, sometimes irrepressible, sense of humor.

He was for years victim of excessive hay fever, which he escaped only by summer flight to Martha's Vineyard or, occasionally, to Europe; but he contrived to find the medical experiments to which he submitted interesting and to make something of comedy out of a torment of sneezes, coughs, and tears. Despite real disability, he was faithful at gatherings of Phi Beta Kappa and enjoyed, on all academic occasions, especially the unintended and unconscious humors of them. He was a most appropriate member of the Bostonian Society, for which he lectured, and prepared a small volume of Lafayette's letters in its possession. Membership in the Massachusetts Historical Society was immensely precious to him, though distance and an exacting teaching schedule prevented regular attendance. He read one paper for us, on Lafayette, for which he had done solid preparation in the Public Record Office.

He took all his work with seriousness but with no less modesty: he would sometimes say, "I think I shall have all the success I ought to hope for, if I can persuade boys to spell *Iliad* with one *l*." But he knew his work was, however inconspicuous, important foundation work, where solidity much matters. In the Latin School in his time annual prizes were given in each class, primly certified by the Head Master's inscription in the edifying volume that embodied the award: "For Exemplary Conduct and Fidelity." No boy ever won one more deservedly than did he. His adult years, similarly exemplary, had no similar epigraphic recognition; but he had the inner satisfaction of knowing he was throughout a lifetime generously useful. He did not know he was also endearing.

# Thomas Jefferson Coolidge

### FREDERICK J. BRADLEE

THOMAS JEFFERSON COOLIDGE was born September 17, 1893, the son of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge and Clara Amory, and died August 6, 1959. He attended St. Mark's School, where he was an outstanding scholar and athlete, and entered Harvard in the autumn of 1911, graduating *magna cum laude* in mathematics in 1915. In November, 1914, a week after he had distinguished himself by running ninety-eight yards for a touchdown against Yale in the first game ever played in the Yale Bowl, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Under date of November 25, 1914, President Lowell wrote to his grandfather as follows:

Harvard University
Cambridge

Honorable T. Jefferson Coolidge
Dear Mr. Coolidge:
I want to congratulate you on your grandson's election to the Phi Beta Kappa, which took place last night. It has been a common saying here that in the English Universities a man might be both an athlete and a scholar, but that it was hardly possible here. We have usually some man who is a high scholar and wins an "H" in track sports, but it is some time since a man has combined Phi Beta Kappa and a team. Your grandson has done it, not in the least by neglecting other things but by his ability in mathematics. You have every reason to look forward to a bright future for him, and have every reason to be very proud of him.

Very truly yours,
A. Lawrence Lowell

During his four years in college, he took nine courses in mathematics, in which he received six A's and three B's. He was awarded a Harvard College Scholarship in 1913–1914 and 1914–1915. These Scholarships were established by the Faculty in 1898, are honorary, without stipend, and are awarded to upperclassmen who achieve the rank of Group II. The late Professor Julian Coolidge said of him that he was one of the best mathematics scholars he had ever taught.

If there is anything in the theory of inheritance, Coolidge came rightly by his brains and ability. His grandfather, educated for the most part in Europe before attending Harvard and graduating in

1850, had a brilliant and successful career in business and finance. He was appointed Minister to France by President Harrison in 1892, the last to hold that position, as the post was raised to ambassadorial status when his successor was appointed. His father, who died in 1912, was graduated from Harvard in 1884 *magna cum laude.*

In appearance, Coolidge was big, strong, and extremely handsome, and his aristocratic good looks made him stand out in any assembly. In character he had what is sometimes known as New England reticence, was shy, modest to a degree, not very talkative unless he got into a discussion of a subject on which he felt strongly, when he would become extremely articulate. He gave one a feeling of great solidity and strength.

The fact that he was possessed of a considerable fortune never affected his essential simplicity and only served to emphasize in his own mind his responsibilities to the community. His generosities were many, but, characteristically, few knew of them. The amount of help he gave to friends and acquaintances was continuous and substantial. Shortly before he died, he made the magnificent gift of $1,000,000 to the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, and with his usual modesty he wished it to be anonymous. When it was pointed out to him that the identity of a donor of any such sum would surely become known, he gave it through a family charitable trust and in turn reimbursed the trust. Another of his benefactions were his gifts to the Massachusetts Historical Society. In 1957, he presented to the Society a very important addition to the Thomas Jefferson papers already given by his grandfather in 1898, which is the second largest collection known.

Portraits of the first five Presidents of the United States by Gilbert Stuart have graced his walls for many years, when not being generously loaned to museums for special exhibitions. An interesting story is told of how his grandfather, from whom he inherited them, acquired them. It seems that a Virginian gentleman in the early part of the nineteenth century built himself a handsome house and was in somewhat of a quandary as to how to decorate the walls of his dining room. He finally decided that portraits of the first five Presidents would under the circumstances be adequate and appropriate. Accordingly, he commissioned Gilbert Stuart to paint them, and they were duly installed and remained there until his death in the 1870's. Coolidge's grandfather somehow learned that the executors of the estate desired to sell them. He, therefore, wrote to inquire of them if this were true, and if so, their price. In due time he received a reply saying that indeed they were for sale and the price $3,000 for the five. Whereupon Mr. Coolidge was reported to have written a blistering letter to the effect that he considered the price exorbitant, but, luckily for his descendents, he took the precaution of including his check for the amount asked.

At the outbreak of World War I, young Coolidge attended the first officers training camp at Plattsburgh, where he was commissioned Captain of Field Artillery. He was sent overseas and while there was promoted to Major. On his return, the business world quickly recognized Coolidge's ability, and his services were much sought after. Among his principal business positions were Chairman of the Board of the United Fruit Company and Chairman of the Trust Committee of the Old Colony Trust Company, which had been founded by his father in 1890. He was also a director and member of the executive committee of the Boston Edison Company, and a director of the First National Bank of Boston and the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. His ability and valuable judgment were freely given as a Trustee to such institutions as the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Museum of Fine Arts, and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

In spite of the fact that he resigned in 1936 as Undersecretary of the Treasury because he disagreed with the administration's policies, his outstanding ability was so well recognized that Secretary of State Cordell Hull appointed him the following year to the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, as the United States representative. Approximately ten years later his valuable services were again made use of by his appointment as Chairman of the Committee on Federal-State Relations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government—the so-called Hoover Commission.

In 1927 he married Catherine Kuhn of California. She and their three children survive: Dr. Catherine Coolidge, A.B., Radcliffe, 1953, M.D., Johns Hopkins, 1958; Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, A.B., Harvard, 1954; John Linzee Coolidge, A.B., Harvard, 1959.

In the Twenty-fifth Anniversary Report of the Harvard Class of 1915, he wrote: "In 1934, for reasons unknown to me, I was made under-secretary of the Treasury and spent two interesting, if somewhat hectic, years in that position. I regretted, and still regret, the policy of the Administration toward centralization of power in Washington and vast spending programs, and resigned in the spring of 1936. . . . In political beliefs I am a very old-fashioned liberal, not recognized today, who believes that government powers should not be centralized in Washington and that this country will be happier, more prosperous and will better retain its democratic form of government if the individual affairs of the citizens are managed locally under State laws with the Federal government handling the foreign affairs with wisdom." "For reasons unknown to me" is too modest a statement. Aside from his possessing a distinguished name, his ability to understand and explain the mysteries of money, foreign exchange, reserves, refunding operations, etc.—fields in which he was completely at home—was an invaluable asset to the administration.

He describes himself as a "very old-fashioned liberal," but his friends would consider an "arch conservative" as perhaps a more accurate definition. It is rather interesting, though futile, to speculate whether he would have entirely approved of everything his distinguished great-great-great-grandfather stood for had he been his contemporary, or whether on some matters he would not have subscribed to the views of Hamilton.

In 1941 he had privately printed at the Riverside Press a series of his articles and speeches under the title of *Why Centralized Government*. On the flyleaf the following appears: "What has destroyed the liberty and rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating of all cares and powers into one body . . . Thomas Jefferson." And the foreword states:

> Only eight years ago President Roosevelt was elected overwhelmingly on a platform pledged to cut drastically the Federal expenses and to reduce drastically the centralized power then in existence in Washington. All this today is past history and little has been heard of the need to return to these principles. Yet may it not be that a return to these principles is just what is necessary?
>
> On various occasions I have endeavored to express my beliefs on the importance of distribution of government powers. A few of these attempts are printed in this small volume, which I am sending to some of my friends who may be interested in the subject—many of whom will agree with little that is said.
>
> T. Jefferson Coolidge

Coolidge was a great admirer of Thomas Jefferson. This was by no means ancestor worship but a deep and sincere belief in what Jefferson stood for. He kept a small scrapbook in which he entered, in his own handwriting, many quotations which clearly reflect his own political philosophy.

> If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people on the pretense of caring for them, they must become happy.
>
> Thomas Jefferson

> To the United Nation belong our external and mutual relations; to each state severally, the care of persons, our property, our reputation and religious freedom.
>
> Thomas Jefferson

> The nation is a watchdog to be fed and not a cow to be milked.
>
> Marshal Petain

> The finest opportunity ever given the world was thrown away because the passion for equality made vain the hope for freedom.
>
> Lord Acton

> Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.
>
> Lord Acton

> There is all the difference in the world between treating people equally and attempting to make them equal. While the first is the condition of a free society, the second means, as De Toqueville described it, a new form of servitude.
>
> Hayek

> The lessons of paternalism ought to be unlearned and the better lesson taught that while the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their government, its functions do not include the support of the people.
>
> Grover Cleveland

> No method of procedure has ever been devised by which liberty could be divorced from local self-government. No plan of centralization has ever been adopted which did not result in bureaucracy, tyranny, inflexibility, inaction and decline—the states should not be induced by coercion or favor to surrender the management of their own affairs.
>
> Calvin Coolidge

The trend to centralization of government and ever increasing expenditures by government upset him greatly and made him unhappy. He would often say that he could not understand some of his intimate friends in Congress, who were ordinarily sensible and intelligent, voting for one vast expenditure after another. He would frequently become so intense in his arguments with them that the next day he would be quite upset by the thought that he might have hurt their feelings.

One of the best summations of Coolidge is contained in a letter from his very warm friend, Arthur Krock, the noted columnist of the *New York Times*: "He was a rock of basic constitutional principles as Jefferson conceived them to be in the structure of this Republic. His integrity was flawless; his moral and physical courage unwavering; his personal loyalties discriminating but abiding; his charm and humor as exceptional as his good looks; his intelligence high, his capacity great for any task he assumed; and his companionship a source of joy to those privileged to have it. Moreover, he had the rare quality of objective self-analysis, the more unusual because his prejudices were strong. In me he inspired one of the greatest affections and admirations I have ever felt for anyone."

# Ferris Greenslet

HENRY A. LAUGHLIN

(As if any man really knew aught of my life;
Why, even I myself, I often think, know little or
nothing of my real life;
Only a few hints—a few diffused, faint clues and
indirections
I seek for my own use to trace out here.)

THESE lines from Walt Whitman face the first page of text of Ferris Greenslet's *Walter Pater,* his third book, written when he was twenty-seven years old. They could even more appropriately have faced the first page of his autobiography, *Under the Bridge,* written just forty years later.

Ferris Greenslet was born in Glens Falls, New York, on June 30, 1875, and at an early age was to find himself governed by two widely different interests—I might almost say instincts—which despite their differences are very often found to come together in men whose lives have proved to be of some significance. They are exceedingly simple in character, they are not acquired, you have them or you don't have them, but if you have them you are able, except at rare intervals, to indulge them—one or the other—to the exclusion of all worldly ills. They are the love of words, which by separation and combination becomes the love of letters, and the love of fishing, which can never effectively become a passion and therefore never dies. Ferris Greenslet was a lover of words and a lover of fishing.

Ferris—and I shall call him that for no one who knew him well enough to drop the Mr. thought of him as anything but Ferris or FG, never Greenslet—spent a boyhood, judged by what he tells us himself in *Under the Bridge,* in which elementary and secondary schools, boys and girls as companions, played no part. He was a lonely figure but seems not to have recognized his loneliness. But all this is pure supposition on the part of the reader, for the one thing that is certain is that *Under the Bridge* does not betray the true Ferris. It is an honest account, which nevertheless preserves from the curious the internal hopes, fears, loves, hates, and all the intimate joys and sorrows of the author. Perhaps a lifetime exposed to the reading of memoirs of persons who wanted to tell all, or of novels which were thinly veiled autobiographies, built up in him a reticence which seldom if ever is pierced. The publisher of *Under the Bridge* was never in danger of facing that lawsuit, which is so hard for publishers to guard against, known as "invasion of privacy."

In 1893 Ferris was enrolled at Wesleyan, graduating four years later and then staying on for a year to secure his M.A. This was followed by two years at Columbia, where he received his doctorate for his first book, *Joseph Glanvill*, which was published by Macmillan in 1900 as Volume One of the Columbia Series in English. At Wesleyan and Columbia there were books and professors, the latter, in his view, teachers of the first order, such as Winchester and Woodberry, but the only reference in the autobiography which would suggest that there were boys—or girls either—in these institutions is the statement "For two spring seasons, overstuffed with a double daily ration of beefsteak and Bass's ale, I pounded four times around a quarter-mile track in the dual meet with Trinity."

After Columbia Ferris settled down in Washington Square, became a free-lance writer in New York with his principal employment writing reviews for the *Nation*, and started on a serious literary life with, first, *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, followed by another short book, *Walter Pater*, which was published by McClure, Phillips & Co. in 1903. Two years later came his *James Russell Lowell* and three years after that his *Thomas Bailey Aldrich*—and then farewell, a long farewell, to all his writing.

For in the summer of 1902 the first insidious symptom of the visitation from which he was never wholly to recover made its stealthy appearance. Ferris, dropping in at the Boston Public Library as he was returning from a holiday, was asked if he would like to analyze and catalogue a lot of Old French and Medieval Latin manuscripts which had just then been bought in London. It was inescapably his dish and too tempting to refuse.

While in Boston, to augment his fifteen-dollar-a-week salary, he submitted two papers to the *Atlantic Monthly* and the fat was in the fire, for Bliss Perry, Editor of the *Atlantic*, which at that time was owned by Houghton Mifflin Company, offered him the job of sub-editorial adviser and, not very long afterwards, he was made an Editorial Director.

There are one or two other statistics which should be mentioned before I take up my own recollections, which begin vaguely when I first joined The Riverside Press, the manufacturing unit of Houghton Mifflin, in 1914. Ferris was married in 1903 to Ellen S. H. Hulst. They had two children, Magdalena, who married John H. Finley, Jr., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard and Master of Eliot House, and George, who married Glencora Osborne in Buenos Aires, where he was in the office of The First National Bank of Boston. George died some years before his father; Mrs. Greenslet, Mrs. Finley, and two grandchildren survive Ferris.

Somewhat shy and never courting distinction, he was elected to membership in learned societies—if I may use that phrase. In addition to the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was made a Resident Member on January 13, 1916, he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, the National Institute of Arts and Letters, the American Antiquarian Society, and was for some years on the Pulitzer Prize Committee for Poetry. He belonged to the St. Botolph Club and to The Century Association. He received a Doctorate of Letters from Dartmouth in 1924. In his middle years he was asked to edit the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

I had known Ferris for forty-five years at the time of his death on November 19, 1959, and during the last twenty years had been in close association with him. I felt for him an admiration and an affection and am convinced that, so far as the latter feeling was concerned, he felt much the same way about me. I used to see him almost every working day, and our conversations were not limited by the business in hand, yet I never had the idea that I had made what would today be called a breakthrough and had found at last the real Ferris.

I would regularly go to his office—not he to mine—and we would talk, not entirely to the detriment of the business, for I learned much from him that was of value, and his gain was in the trying out on me of his ideas and thoughts, which he would say all occurred to him in the early hours of the morning—when most people were engaged in dreaming rather than thinking. It also gave him the great satisfaction of searching some deep cubbyhole in his mind and pulling out a gem of erudition and placing it neatly in the midst of a discussion or explanation. Ferris could not put up with a conversation long, however, and soon would come signs of restlessness. Often his best play then would be to tell some story, the punch line of which would be in French or Latin, and I would give a hearty laugh and then escape before Ferris could find out for sure that I had failed to get the point.

Ferris was not only an excellent judge of literature, he was also a good judge of what would sell, and, deplorable as such a gift is, it is the *sine qua non* of a successful publisher. Over the years he painstakingly learned the economics of publishing, for he had partially to forsake his reading in middle life and undertake management. That he mastered and finally came to delight in the business side of publishing is an indication of his ability to adjust the sharpness of his mind to whatever demands he made upon it.

It is, however, as an editor that he will be remembered. His reputation was not won by aggressive search for new authors or by gay camaraderie in those bright spots where the intelligentsia were, perhaps mythically, supposed to have gathered. It was based on trust in the quality of his advice and on his ability to write the kind of letters which said just what he wanted to say and inspired confidence in his judgment.

One of the fruits of these particular spheres of competence was his securing for his house, through his correspondence with Mr. Adams and with Worthington C. Ford and the Massachusetts Historical Society, the publication of one of the most widely read and generally admired books that Houghton Mifflin Company has ever published. *The Education of Henry Adams*, which Ferris never tired of rereading, represents in one book the two editorial gifts which I have said above Ferris possessed: a taste for the best and a sense of what the public would be eager to buy.

An entirely different example of Ferris' acumen and appreciation of what was happening in world affairs, when the majority of well-informed people were strangely blind to the development of the most fiercely destructive force of our time, was his securing in 1932 for American publication Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, which in its various editions has sold in this country hundreds of thousands of copies.

It goes without saying that in devoting himself to executive responsibility he was forced to postpone and to some degree abandon what might have been the greatest contribution he could have made to letters in our time. His love of words, his wide reading, his retentive memory, his choice of the happy phrase, his ability to think, all fitted him for the task of writing books of the first order—and it was not a task in his early days but rather an urge. It is noteworthy that the man he admired—and yes loved—most, in my opinion, could in Ferris' belief qualify as both a first-class business man and first-class writer. John Buchan, afterwards Lord Tweedsmuir, seemed always to hold a special place in Ferris' heart. It was not chance that Buchan was also a devoted and first-class fisherman.

Two other contemporaries in the world of letters seemed to stand out above the rest in his admiration. They were Willa Cather and Amy Lowell. It was a matter of pride to him that on the latter's death he became the owner of Amy Lowell's silver cigar cutter, with "A. L." engraved on it, and it is a matter of pride to me that he left it to me, and it sits on the table in front of my chair in the Directors' Room of Houghton Mifflin Company, a reminder of so many struggles and enthusiasms, victories and defeats, that Ferris and I shared, endured, and often rejoiced in.

I have an even more highly prized and more frequently enjoyed remembrance, and that is Ferris' edition of *The Complete Angler*, dated 1760 and bound in full calf. It was delivered to me by Ferris' grandson, and with it was a letter from Mrs. Greenslet saying that Ferris had several editions of Isaak Walton, but this was the one he liked best, and it was her hope that it would bring to me as many happy moments, as I dig into it, as it did to him.

That perhaps should end this personal—I'm afraid too personal—memoir of Ferris Greenslet, but I would be unfair to him if I were not to mention two books which followed *Under the Bridge*. The first was *The Practical Cogitator*, the thinker's anthology, which he compiled with our own Charlie Curtis, a labor of love, wisdom, and scholarship, which they both enjoyed enormously. In 1946 Ferris wrote his last and most engaging book, *The Lowells and their Seven Worlds*. It has an interest and charm which reveal the author in certain ways more than does his autobiography.

It is, I think, of some significance in understanding Ferris that in spite of his sense of responsibility and affection for, together with his pride in, the members of his family, the name of not a single one of them appears in *Under the Bridge*. Less significant but interesting to us was the fact that he made no mention of any of his fellow directors in Houghton Mifflin Company, with the exception of George H. Mifflin, who was his senior by thirty years. Ferris was not one to wear his heart upon his sleeve for daws to peck at.

Nevertheless, the final chapter of *Under the Bridge*, entitled "Feller in the Creek," is pure Ferris. It is all the streams he has known and fished. Those loves of a lifetime. On this continent. In France. In England. In Ireland. And the names of those streams. Words. Words. Lists of words. And each a memory. A memory of vanished days, of standing alone in the stream or of standing not alone but a goodly number of casts away from one of those few kindred spirits who in the rushing waters built friendships which were to endure.

# Charles Pelham Curtis

## GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS

CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS was born in Boston on May 8, 1891, the son of Charles Pelham Curtis and Ellen Amory (Anderson). He died in Boston on December 23, 1959, of burns received in a fire at his house in Stonington, Connecticut.

Charlie—as I cannot help calling him, even in an obituary—was educated at Groton School (1904–1910) and at Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1914, A.B. *cum laude.* Three years had been enough for him to complete the requirements for the degree, and so he spent his senior year in Paris as a student at the École des Sciences Politiques, returning to Cambridge to pick up his parchment and deliver the Class Poem. In his years at Groton and Harvard he had already displayed the three graces, social, intellectual, and artistic, that were to attend him the rest of his life.

In the year of his graduation, Charlie married Edith Roelker of Providence, Rhode Island. The young couple lived in Cambridge while Charlie went to the Harvard Law School, from which he graduated in 1917, again *cum laude.* Five children were born of this marriage: Sarah (Mrs. Lewis Iselin) in 1915, Anita (Mrs. J. T. McClellan) in 1917, Charles Pelham, Jr., in 1919, William in 1923, and Richard in 1924. Richard, a bombardier in the Fifteenth Army Air Corps, was killed in Italy in 1945.

In 1917 Charlie got himself elected a delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, but that was also the year the United States entered World War I. Charlie's father was a man of great simplicity and dignity, and a notable sportsman. Charlie and his brother Richard had sailed with their father as crew for his racing yachts in Massachusetts Bay. Charlie was fond of recalling how they had once beaten the great Charles Francis Adams, dean of East Coast racing skippers, in a series of races for the Quincy Cup—and that too in Adams' home waters, Quincy Bay itself. With this background, it was natural at the outbreak of war for Charlie to enter the Navy. He enlisted as an ordinary seaman, but in October, 1917, was commissioned in the United States Naval Reserve Force and sent to Annapolis for four months of training. On February 1, 1918, the equivalent then of a "ninety-day wonder," he was commissioned ensign in the regular Navy and ordered to U.S.S. *Duncan*, a destroyer based on Queenstown (Cobh) in Ireland. Aboard her, he took part in the most continuously arduous of all naval assignments—North Atlantic convoy duty. Just before the armistice he was ordered home to become gunnery and torpedo officer on a new destroyer, U.S.S. *Buchanan*, then being built at Bath, Maine. He took one cruise in her, south to Guantanamo, before leaving the Navy in March, 1919, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade). He was always proud of his naval service and ready to talk about his naval experiences—but then Charlie was always ready to talk about anything.

Charlie was now ready to take up his regular career as a lawyer, postponed by the war. Admitted to the Massachusetts Bar in 1919, he joined the firm of Choate, Hall & Stewart. In 1923 he resigned from this firm and went off with his brother Richard and their sportsman father on a hunting expedition to Africa. In Charlie's characteristic way he said of this safari: "We killed six lions, and we wrote a book about it."[1] The book was called *Hunting in Africa, East and West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925). Back in Boston Charlie and Richard formed their own firm, Curtis and Curtis, in 1925, which continued until both brothers in 1932 rejoined Choate, Hall & Stewart as partners. In this firm Charlie spent the rest of his professional life.

While unquestionably a first-rate lawyer, even by the severest standards of corporation law, Charlie never did all the things conventionally good Boston lawyers are apt to do—or rather he did some of the things they are apt not to do. In his first years with Choate, Hall he served as secretary of the grievance committee of the Boston Bar Association, and in 1921–1923 held the position of Special Assistant United States Attorney in Massachusetts. Of the firm of Curtis and Curtis he wrote: "We drafted the arbitration statute of Massachusetts; and I was the chairman of a commission which revised the Workmen's Compensation Law, making also a minority report recommending it be made compulsory."[2] Still later he said, "I am proud of having drafted the Fair Employment Practice Act of Massachusetts and of helping to get it enacted in 1946."[3] Charlie was always prouder of the public service he performed as a lawyer than of his success in private practice.

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[1] Harvard College Class of 1914, *25th Anniversary Report* (Cambridge, 1939), *s. v.* Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr.

[2] *Ibid.*

In many ways Boston in the twenties was a livelier place intellectually than it is now. There were more State Streeters that were something else than just State Streeters, more able young politicians, like Henry Cabot Lodge, Henry Parkman, and Christian Herter, that were not interested only in politics, more men of the world who did not worry about the exact vintages of their wines, more men concerned about arts and letters without being mere academics. Boston had more intellectual organs of its own than it does now: besides its old stand-by the *Atlantic* there was Richard Ely Danielson's *Independent.* Of this lively group Charlie Curtis was one of the more prominent and popular members. A friend of mine tells me that in the twenties there were three Boston houses where a guest could always count on having the best of times, where the conversation could be convivial without descending to mere small talk, and where it could be serious without being stuffy. One was Christian Herter's house, one was Edward Pickman's, and one was Charlie Curtis'.

But this was not the only group that Charlie appealed to. In choosing its members the Harvard Corporation has seldom let itself be carried away by merely social and literary gifts. Its collective fish-eyes look for solider stuff. Not so much his charm as his rising reputation as a lawyer must have led the Corporation to elect Charlie a Fellow in 1924, the youngest man ever so chosen. It is not too much to say that in the twenties Charlie, for his gaiety, his ability, and the breadth of his interests, was the darling of the so-called Brahmins of Boston.

Charlie's mother was one of the cleverest and most attractive Boston women of her time. She had long been a great friend of Justice Holmes's, and Charlie by hereditary right became one too—as if he needed any right. He became one of the young men Holmes saw most often, especially when the Justice came up to spend his summer vacations at Beverly Farms. In Holmes's letters we find many references to Charlie—Charlie expressing his belief, which surely must have been unique in the members of the Harvard Corporation, that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent; Charlie advising the Justice to read

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[3] Harvard College Class of 1914, *35th Anniversary Report* (Cambridge, 1949), *s. v.* Charles Pelham Curtis.

Proust, on the one hand, and Jane Austen's *Emma* on the other. (One was always well-advised to read the books Charlie recommended.) On his part Charlie never ceased to enjoy citing the Justice's tough-minded wisdom. And therefore what the Justice had to say about Charlie is worth paying some heed to. On September 6, 1925, he wrote to Harold Laski: "We have just had a call from Charley Curtis and his wife that gave us much pleasure. He seems to have a prosperous destiny—I should fear too surrounded by popularity and praise to achieve great things."[4] It was popularity and praise that came to people's minds when they thought of Charlie.

Popularity and praise were only the outward and visible signs. Though Charlie all his life was endlessly attractive, what we remember is less the attraction itself than the reason for it. It was his enjoying so much the things he did enjoy, and his enjoying so many things —all the way from riding to hounds, badly, with the Norfolk Hunt Club to writing, well, about the Supreme Court. But we are still not at the guts of the matter. Many of us enjoy the good things of life but flinch for one reason or another from taking them. Charlie did not flinch. It was not that he could not see the cost, but that he did not let the cost stop him, as it stops so many men. He did not wait for the day he could get something for nothing. It may be that he wanted more from life than any one of his activities could give him, and so could not help some scattering of his shots. At least he had the shots to scatter, and at least he did not hold back. What we loved in him was what we lacked in ourselves.

Except for the President himself, most members of the Harvard Corporation do not get themselves deeply involved in the intellectual life of the university. Often their own interests are different; still more often they are too busy, and sometimes perhaps they feel that close ties with professors would get in the way of the detachment they need for making decisions about professors. But Charlie would have none of this. No Fellow of his time, perhaps no Fellow ever, knew more about the interesting things that were going on in the university, and in the twenties and thirties plenty of interesting things were going on. Besides the great debates about the New Deal and later about Marxism, there were the new, less politically colored ideas represented by men like Alfred North Whitehead, Lawrence J. Henderson, Percy

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[4] *Holmes-Laski Letters*, ed. Mark DeW. Howe, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1953), I, 783.

Bridgman, and Elton Mayo. They quickened the pace of the discussion of old issues: What is philosophy? What is science? What is social science? After 1932 Charlie supported the New Deal, while remaining a Republican in Massachusetts politics, but the purely intellectual questions interested him more than the political ones. He became a friend and not just a colleague of President Lowell's, and a friend also, and especially, of Whitehead's and Henderson's.

For the academic year 1928–1929 Charlie himself joined the Harvard staff, holding the post of Lecturer in Government and teaching American constitutional law. But this was the least of his services to the university. When in 1932 President Lowell told the other members of the Corporation that he planned to resign, and the search for his successor began, Charlie was the first to discover that James Bryant Conant, then Professor of Chemistry and Charlie's classmate in 1914, had the makings of a president in him. Charlie persuaded my father, Robert Homans, who was then a Fellow, and between them they eventually convinced the others. Charlie never regretted his backing Conant.

Still higher I should rank, and so would Charlie, his contribution to the founding of the Society of Fellows at Harvard. President Lowell had long been discouraged with graduate education in the field of the arts and sciences. The work required for the Ph.D. degree was too constricting to bring out the best in able and original young men, consisting as it did in jumping a series of hurdles in the form of examinations, set firmly between fences that stopped any thought of straying. Lowell's concern was shared by others, notably by his, and Charlie's, friends Whitehead and Henderson. In a series of informal discussions these men, together with Charlie and John Livingston Lowes, Professor of English, worked out a plan for an institution that would combine the best features of the Prize Fellowships of Trinity College, Cambridge, the fellowships of All Souls' College, Oxford, and the Fondation Thiers in Paris. Every year the Senior Fellows of the proposed Society of Fellows would choose a number of the most intelligent and original young graduate students they could find, provide them with their board and a small salary, make every facility for research and travel available to them, and set them free to pursue for a term of years any line of work they saw fit, except that they were not to go out for a degree. At least once a week the Junior and Senior Fellows were to dine together, *vin compris,* in the rooms set aside for the Society in Eliot House, then being built as part of President Lowell's "House Plan."

When President Lowell failed to get a foundation to endow the proposed Society, he endowed it himself as the "Anna Parker Lowell Fund," and it began operations in the academic year 1933–1934, the original Senior Fellows being Henderson, Chairman, Lowell, Lowes, Whitehead, and Curtis. Before the dinners of the Society Charlie characteristically insisted on serving cocktails, a practice viewed somewhat askance by the staider Senior Fellows, who were prepared to go as far as the English tradition of sherry, but no farther. Charlie did as much as anyone to get the Society off to a good start, and it has since been a great success.

I can best suggest the charm that Charlie had for a young man by describing my own experience with him. Charlie's friend Lawrence Henderson, though a physiologist by profession, had gotten interested in the *Traité de Sociologie Générale* (Paris, 1917) of the Italian economist Vilfredo Pareto, and had gotten Charlie interested in it too. In the fall of 1932 Henderson proposed to offer a seminar on Pareto, the first given in the United States and perhaps anywhere, and he asked Charlie to join him as his assistant with the official title of Lecturer in Sociology (1932–1933). Henderson also asked me to join, as a bright young man who was out of work and on the town.

In the course of that winter the seminar worked its way week by week through Pareto's formidable but fascinating two heavy volumes in French. And when we were about halfway through Charlie suggested that, since there was then no English translation of Pareto, he and I should write a little book presenting Pareto's main ideas to the general reader. Pareto confirmed me in all my prejudices; Charlie delighted me; I had nothing better to do, and so I accepted. We had long arguments getting Pareto's ideas straightened out in our minds and put in order for presentation. To illustrate them Charlie made full use of all his treasures of reading in literature, history, philosophy, and science. No one ever was better at finding an apt and interesting quotation, and in making that book Charlie first showed those gifts he was to make still better use of in his two anthologies *The Practical Cogitator* and *A Commonplace Book.*

That was just the trouble: Charlie had too many ideas. I would think we had a chapter all lined up in its final form, when Charlie would get a new idea and want to tear the whole thing up and start over. He had found something so good, he had a new idea so exciting, that we simply could not afford to leave it out. Though I was much the younger man I finally had to take the role of hard taskmaster: "Look here, Charlie, we've got to get this damned book out. If we keep on putting in all your bright ideas we'll never get through." Charlie took my bossing in good part, and the book *was* finished and printed as *An Introduction to Pareto: His Sociology* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934).

But a book was the least of what I got out of working with Charlie: I got an education and a delightful one at that. He had read so widely and was so enthusiastic about what he had read that a youngster could not help wanting to follow him. For me, this was especially true of poetry. He inspired me to read Dante, insisting on my using a trot with the text, as learning Italian the hard way would rob me of most of my fun. He persuaded me that, in spite of some eight years of school Latin, I could read Catullus, and the Loeb Catullus I now have was given me by Charlie. Writing a book with him was good enough, even if we started fresh every week, but talking and drinking with him at his house in Norfolk or with him and his friend Hans Zinsser in Chestnut Street was better still.

In 1935 Charlie was divorced from his wife and the next year he married Frances Woodward Prentice, who survives him. Upon his divorce President Lowell told him the sense of the Harvard Corporation was that he had better resign as Fellow, which of course he did, and from the Society of Fellows too. Charlie never agreed in the least with the grounds on which he was asked to resign, and felt bitterly being cut off from some of the activities that absorbed him most. But Harvard was a sufferer too, for he had made great contributions to her life and liveliness.

As the New Deal went on and Charlie felt more and more sympathy with its aims, he became more and more concerned in the actions of the federal government. He served on the Committee on Economic Policy, formed to back up Secretary of State Cordell Hull's Trade Agreements for the reduction of tariffs. And in 1941, with the war in

Europe already begun, he served in the State Department as Special Assistant to his friend and classmate Sumner Welles, the Undersecretary of State.

After the entry of the United States into the war—in which he was to lose his son Richard—Charlie returned to Boston and until the end of his life gave more and more of his energy to his writing. I have already spoken of his extraordinary wide reading and his sharp eye for a paragraph that squeezed out the marrow of a writer's mind. This gift he finally made full use of in bringing out, with Ferris Greenslet, *The Practical Cogitator; or, The Thinker's Anthology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1945). This was a new kind of anthology: a collection of paragraphs from the writings of philosophers, scientists, and others, some famous, some obscure, who could not only think about issues of interest to mankind—and to Charlie as its representative there were few subjects *not* of interest to mankind—but also give an individual and personal character to the expression of what they thought. There is no better book in which to get an idea of the full range, at its most lively, of philosophy in its old sense of men thinking about what they do—not the new technical philosophy, which comes close to saying that most of what they think is meaningless. *The Practical Cogitator* would have been splendid simply as an anthology, but its value is doubled by the comments the authors make on many of their selections.

Charlie, now without a collaborator, repeated this performance with *A Commonplace Book* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957). Although it belongs to the same class as *The Practical Cogitator*—a class that Charlie invented and that only he could produce examples of—*A Commonplace Book* contains fewer selections; his comments on them are fuller, and they sound even more like him. He used to say that nothing was more durable than good English prose, and by his prose, unpretentious but tough and unexpected, he will endure for those who did not know him face to face. For those that did, his writing will bring back his wit, his liveliness, and his enthusiasm, for he wrote the way he talked more than do most writers. To my mind, his prose hits hardest in these anthologies. Charlie was not an organizer; fascinating as they are, architecture is not the strong point of his longer books; he was at his best in short bursts, turning from one subject to another. That is to say, he was a man for the quick give and take. His anthologies are exchanges between the reader, the author in question, and Charlie.

We must never forget that Charlie, with all the breadth of his interests, remained all his life a successful working lawyer. When he began writing he wrote most about the law. Call his books on the law popular if you like: Charlie meant them to be popular. But they were not popular through any deficiency in legal learning or through any readiness to make things easy for the public. He was fascinated by the intellectual and practical issues of his profession and wholly prepared to talk about realities in real language. For instance, he was always ready to argue that there were times when it was a lawyer's duty to lie for his client. Besides he was a born teacher, though not from the platform but across the table. His books on the law are popular because they talk about the law in this way. He wrote three of them, and he was a great one for titles. They are, first, *Lions Under the Throne: A study of the Supreme Court of the United States addressed particularly to those laymen who know more constitutional law than they think they do, and to those lawyers who know less* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947); second, *It's Your Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954); and third, *Law as Large as Life: A Natural Law for Today and the Supreme Court as its Prophet* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959). This last was an elaboration of the Gaspar G. Bacon lectures that he had given at Boston University in 1958, and it came out just before he died. At the time of his death he was working on another.

Charlie also wrote a book on a *cause célèbre* of great significance to the intellectual and academic communities of this country—the successful effort to deny to Robert Oppenheimer, on the grounds that he was a security risk, any employment by the federal government that would put him in possession of official secrets. The book was called *The Oppenheimer Case: The Trial of a Security System* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955).

For the later years of Charlie's life we must not think only of his writing; we must think of his many services to organizations, large and small, formal and informal. We must think, for instance, of his services as trustee of Sarah Lawrence College, as member of the Visiting Committee of the Harvard Department of Philosophy, and as President of the Harvard Chapter (Alpha of Massachusetts) of the fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa. We must think finally of his services to this body. He came to the Society late: he was not elected a Resident Member until 1951. But he threw himself at once into our affairs with a gaiety and unselfconsciousness that we are always in danger of running out of. He gave several papers, all as scholarly as the best and far more entertaining.[5] He served as a member of the Council, 1952–1955, and as Corresponding Secretary, 1957–1959. In Council he was always himself, supporting liberal causes, such as the election of women to membership, and giving good legal advice offhandedly, as if not to underline the fact that it was good.

In whatever Charlie did the man showed through. To get at him we did not first have to penetrate the smoke screen most people throw out around them. He never tried to put on a face, never tried to get others to take him at his valuation. He knew what he was good for, and so he did not always have to be asking himself how well he was doing. Whatever rocks he ran on, at least they were in mid-stream; he did not go aground by hugging either shore. He was social without being a snob, a "liberal" who did not sneer, an intellectual who was not sorry for himself, an enthusiast who was not a fanatic, a charmer who was not just sweet. What was he indeed but what we would have had him be? He was simply one of those men that keep the rest of us alive.

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[5] "Learning and Liquor at Harvard College, 1792-1846," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings,* LXX (1950–53), 56–64; "A Strange Story about Marbury *versus* Madison in Salem, 1808," *ibid.,* LXXI (1953–57), 133–146; "The Young Devils and Dan'l Webster," *American Heritage,* June, 1960, pp. 52–54, 101–103.

# Ellery Sedgwick

### HENRY L. SHATTUCK

ELLERY Sedgwick was born in New York on February 27, 1872. He was graduated from Groton School in 1890, and from Harvard in 1894. His family roots were in Stockbridge.

He was a teacher at Groton for a year or two and then started upon his lifetime career, first for several years as an Assistant Editor of the *Youth's Companion.* Moving to New York in 1900 he served for five years as Editor of *Leslie's Monthly* magazine, into which he breathed new life. For the next three years he was associated for short periods with *The American Magazine*, *McClure's* magazine, and the publishing house of D. Appleton Company.

These were years of preparation. During all this time it was Sedgwick's ambition to have a magazine of his own, and to be his own boss. In 1908 the opportunity came, and Sedgwick seized upon it. The *Atlantic* had been a fifth wheel in the publishing house of Houghton Mifflin & Company. It had been built up to some extent during the editorships of Walter H. Page and Bliss Perry but had never been a financial success. Perry was about to retire from the editorship. Letting no grass grow under his feet, Sedgwick began negotiations with Mr. Mifflin, as a result of which his ambition was fulfilled. He acquired the magazine and became its Editor, serving in this capacity for thirty years until his retirement in 1938. He was resourceful and adventurous in seeking out contributors. Circulation increased by leaps and bounds, and the old magazine became profitable. The *Atlantic* as he made it, and as it is today, is his monument.

Sedgwick became a Resident Member of this Society on December 10, 1914. While he was never active in its affairs, he made the Society many gifts of family papers and other historical documents.

He was impressionable and given to great enthusiasms which sometimes got him into trouble, and there were many contradictions in his character. From liberalism at times he would jump to extreme conservatism. With some lapses, he was a Democrat in politics. He voted for Bryan in 1896 and yet after a visit to Spain soon after retiring from the editorship of the *Atlantic*, he wrote an article in praise of Franco. And when visiting the ancient temples of Japan he seemed almost for a moment to become a Buddhist.

My acquaintance with Ellery Sedgwick was mainly in the last thirty years on long snowshoeing week ends in Francestown, New Hampshire, and on walks in the New Hampshire hills and mountains. On our snowshoe trips he would carry a cane in his right hand and a little sweater on his left forearm. On the level he did very well but with these encumbrances, and his short fat legs, he would usually turn about when we reached the steep slopes of Mt. Crotched. At the table and around the fire his effervescent nature and lively comments made him the life of the party. He was a great storyteller. Days with him were never dull.

# Clarence Henry Haring

## Crane Brinton

Clarence Henry Haring, Robert Woods Bliss Professor of Latin-American History and Economics at Harvard from 1923 to his retirement in 1953, was born in Philadelphia on February 9, 1885, the son of Henry Getman and Amelia (Stoneback) Haring, and died in Cambridge on September 4, 1960. His family background was Pennsylvania Dutch, and his urban upbringing was varied by summers on an uncle's farm in the rich agricultural countryside of southeastern Pennsylvania. After graduation from a Philadelphia high school, he came to Harvard with the class of 1907, and took his A.B. *summa cum laude* in history. He had come to Harvard and New England, with which he had no immediate family connections, largely because of the influence on him of a high school English teacher, Albert H. Smyth, best known as editor of the *Writings of Benjamin Franklin.* It seems likely that Smyth had a part in Haring's decision to try for a Rhodes Scholarship. He was successful in the Massachusetts competition in 1907 and went up to New College in that year. Armed with the prestige of a Harvard bachelor's degree, *summa cum laude,* he decided firmly not to take just another B.A., even from Oxford. He therefore read for the only research degree then available at Oxford, the B.Litt., fortunately under Professor C. H. Firth, one of the few Oxford teachers who took research degrees seriously in those distant days. Firth was an authority on seventeenth-century England, and led Haring into a field, the colonial period of Spanish America, which remained his main scholarly interest all his life. He took the degree in 1909 with a thesis on "The Buccaneers in the West Indies: Studies in the Seventeenth Century," which was published by Methuen in London in 1910.

His next decade was spent in teaching and research, and in steady progress up the academic ladder first for a year at Harvard, where he took the indispensable doctorate in 1916, then at Bryn Mawr, Clark, and Yale. Having in the course of his apprenticeship resolved to become a historian of Latin America, he was glad to be able to return to Harvard in 1923 to fill the recently founded Bliss chair in Latin-

American history. He had married Helen Garnsey in 1913; the Harings had two children, Philip Smyth, '37, now Professor of Government at Knox College, and Peter Garnsey. At Harvard, Haring's career showed a remarkably even balance between administration, teaching, and writing and research, activities not always as mutually compatible with university professors as they were with Haring.

Haring discharged ably and cheerfully the duties of his stint as Chairman of the Department of History from 1931 to 1939, but this was not the labor of love that his main administrative assignment, the post of Master of Dunster House, which he held from 1934 to 1948, proved to be. To both Haring and his wife, this task, especially exacting in the early formative years of the Harvard Houses, was a congenial one, and they carried it out to the lasting gain of Harvard and Dunster. Haring's sense of balance, his gift for avoiding extremes without falling into a dull and empty compromise of inaction, showed itself at its best in his Mastership. Though he preserved a dignified formality of manner, his students quickly sensed his deep sympathy and warm sensitiveness. In spite of all his many duties, he always found plenty of time to talk with them and discuss their personal problems with them. In addition to Chairmanship and Mastership, Haring held a whole series of chairmanships of committees and other posts concerned with Latin-American studies and with Pan-American affairs.

As teacher of undergraduates, Haring suffered from the dead weight of indifference with which students, particularly in the remote northeastern corner of our country, regarded the history of our good neighbors to the south. It would have taken more histrionics than Haring was willing, or perhaps able, to employ in the classroom to have attracted large numbers of undergraduates to his field. With graduate instruction the difficulty was much less. Though a number of American universities less distant from the Rio Grande than Harvard have produced more trained historians of Latin America, a goodly proportion of the ablest and most successful younger men in the field have been Haring's students.

Since Haring's first interest as a scholar was in the colonial period, his first two books, the already mentioned *Buccaneers in the West Indies* and *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the*

*Hapsburgs*, a reworking of his Harvard thesis published in 1918 by the Harvard University Press, deal with that period. But the demands of his chair, and of those who wished to study with him, pushed him on into modern times, and he threw himself energetically into the studies, the traveling, the conferring that a mastery of the affairs of the twenty republics of Latin America requires. Between his book on *South America Looks at the United States* of 1928 and his *Empire in Brazil* of 1958 he wrote a number of books and many articles and reviews on the modern and indeed contemporary history, politics, and economics of these lands. Archibald Coolidge, like Haring a pioneer among professional academic historians in the study of the history of lands outside the Southern and Western Europe-North America axis, used to recall how his scornful colleagues reproached him for his interest in the "unhealthy countries." Haring's scholarly career was a major factor in bringing up North American professional standards of historical studies of these "unhealthy" countries to a level quite as high as that which prevails among historians of the healthiest countries.

Haring was elected a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society on May 12, 1927. He took great pride and interest in the Society and came frequently to its meetings. He gave the following papers before the Society: "The Revolution in Mexico which began in 1910," November 10, 1927; "South America and the War," December 14, 1939; "The Setting for Dictatorship in Latin America," May 11, 1944, printed in *Proceedings*, LXVII (1941–44), 549–561; "Latin American Dictatorships in the United States," February 14, 1952, printed in *ibid.*, LXX (1950–53), 158–170; "The Universities in Latin America," November 10, 1954, printed in *ibid.*, LXXI (1953–57), 311–327. He also wrote memoirs of Vicente Lecuna and of Robert Howard Lord that appeared in *ibid.*, LXXI, 386, and 387–389, respectively. For one year beginning May 12, 1932, he was a member of the Society's Committee of Publication, and for two years beginning April 14, 1932, he was a Member-at-Large of the Society's Council.

The years since his retirement in 1953 Haring spent profitably and enjoyably in various active tasks, as Professor of Maritime History at the Naval War College at Newport, at the Huntington Library, and as adviser to the University of Puerto Rico, which he visited several times. He was honored many times with honorary degrees and professorships, membership in learned societies, and with decorations by the Venezuelan and the Brazilian governments.

Haring's chair carried with it by its very nature a kind of unofficial cultural ambassadorship to the lands to the south of us. He was well suited to the task. He had a genuine affection for these lands and their peoples, a fluency in both Spanish and Portuguese which in accent always bore the traces of his North American upbringing, and a thorough understanding of their past troubles, their present achievements, and their hopes for the future. There was in his attitude toward them no touch of patronizing. Nor was he surprised or indignant when he encountered, as he not infrequently did, feelings of hostility toward the United States. He was not, however, a blind admirer and defender of all things Latin-American, and in his writings and his lectures pointed out much that did not measure up to his standards, which were those of a cultivated, moderate, liberal gentleman brought up in our Western culture.

# Theodore Clarke Smith

### James P. Baxter, 3rd

Theodore Clarke Smith, the senior Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which he had been elected in 1905, died in the North Adams Hospital on November 19, 1960, at the age of ninety. He was born in Roxbury, May 18, 1870, the son of Azariah and Sophia Van Duzer Smith. After his graduation from Harvard in 1892 he took an A.M. there the next year and his Ph.D. in 1896, followed by a year's study in Paris and Berlin. He taught at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Michigan, Vassar College, and Ohio State University before becoming J. Leland Miller Professor of American History, Literature, and Eloquence at Williams College in 1903.

Within ten years he established himself there as a pungent, demanding, and provocative teacher and as the principal author of a new curriculum. This was modeled in part on the one recently adopted at Harvard but rested on a series of courses to be taken in sequence in each major. When this curriculum was reinforced some years later by a required pro-seminar in the senior year, many Williams students found Professor Smith's careful training in critical analysis a powerful challenge in history, political science, and the law. The list of his students who took high rank in the best law schools, served as secretary to a Justice of the Supreme Court, and achieved eminence as practitioners and teachers was a long one.

Professor Smith's published writings include twenty items, five of them printed in the *Proceedings* of this Society. His *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* appeared in the Harvard Historical Studies in 1897 and his *Parties and Slavery* in the American Nation series in 1906. He also contributed the general index volume in 1900 to the American Statesmen series. His most important scholarly work was the two-volume *Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield*, published in 1925.

In 1934 he read a notable paper on "The Writing of American History in America, from 1884 to 1934" on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the American Historical Association. He took a dim view of the contributions of non-professional historians.

"At the best, they produce works of a high order, such as A. J. Beveridge's *Marshall* . . . or J. H. Smith's *War with Mexico* . . . which have every merit looked for in historical writing except that of nonpartisanship." At the worst, the output of amateur writers of history seemed to him "little more than sensational muckraking."

In 1931 Professor Smith became the first holder of the new Woodrow Wilson professorship at Williams, named for the statesman and scholar he so greatly admired. Four years later President Dennett appointed him to the newly created office of Dean of the Faculty. When he retired in 1938 the College conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters and hailed him as "an educational statesman."

On his retirement his colleagues in the History Department arranged for his portrait to be hung in the room where he had conducted his pro-seminar class. This delighted his former students, some of whom recalled with pride that the portrait of the greatest of Williams historians, Charles Gross, of the Class of 1878, hangs in the History seminar room in Widener Library at Harvard.

# Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe

ARTHUR S. PIER

SPECULATING with a group of friends on the possibility of interplanetary travel, the late Professor Alfred North Whitehead remarked that the Earth's first visitors to Mars should be persons likely to make a good impression. "Whom would you send?" someone asked. "My first choice would be Mark Howe," replied the venerable sage.

To the friends of Mark Howe of Boston, his qualifications for such a mission are obvious. His quick interest in new people and fresh points of view, his hospitality to ideas, and his courtesy should make him a welcome visitant in any sphere. In his terrestrial career his interests led him into the field of biography, where his exploration of personalities, widely diverse, some of them eccentric, yielded under his sympathetic probing a revelation of character and expression. For his success as a writer of biography[1] he laid the foundation by what he termed his steam shovel qualities, his persistence and thoroughness in excavating significant facts from masses of documents and letters. But to the grubbing industry of the antiquarian were added the poet's imaginative insight and the artist's skill in rounding out and lighting the portrait.

No more self-effacing biographer ever lived, nor one more industrious. His first biography, a short volume on Phillips Brooks, appeared in 1899; then came the *Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (1908), the *Life and Labors of Bishop Hare* (1911), the *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton* (1913), *Memories of a Hostess* (1922), *Barrett Wendell and His Letters* (1924), which received a Pulitzer Prize, *John Jay Chapman and His Letters* (1937), and *Holmes of the Breakfast-Table* (1939).

As an undergraduate at Lehigh in the 1880's he found his best friend in Richard Harding Davis. Together they wrote for the Lehigh *Burr*, and it was Howe who succeeded Davis as its managing editor. After Lehigh came two years of study at Harvard; then with a new A.B. degree, his M.A. degree, and a letter of introduction from Professor Francis J. Child, he applied for a job at the *Atlantic*. Horace E.

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[1] Howe told the story of his own life in *A Venture in Remembrance* (Boston, 1941) and in a "postscript to his reminiscences" entitled "Nearing Ninety," *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1953, pp. 71–74.

Scudder, the editor, had nothing to offer, but passed him along with a friendly word to the editor of the *Youth's Companion*, in whose leisurely routine Howe served for five years as one of numerous assistant editors. Scudder, however, kept him in mind and when an opening occurred in the *Atlantic* office invited him to fill it.

Howe had been assistant editor but a short time when his chief, who was planning to retire, gave him a copy of a small book he had written, in which were inscribed the words "H. E. Scudder, to his understudy." The promise of promotion that was implied was foiled by the serious trouble that Howe began to have with his eyes. The oculist's prescriptions were of no avail; he had to give up reading, resign from the *Atlantic*, and retire to the family farm at Bristol, Rhode Island, where for the next five years he saw the world through dark glasses. He farmed and he fumed. Drastic and painful treatment slowly restored his sight. As the light came back he began to write again—poems enough to fill a slim volume and then his biography of Phillips Brooks.

On September 21, 1899, he married Fanny Quincy, the younger sister of the mayor of Boston. Her wit, her delightful humor, her judicious skepticism, were a stimulant which quickened and sharpened his work. She was herself a writer of distinction, but her essays in the *Atlantic*—"My Wife's Address-Book," "My Wife's Check-Book," "A Guilt-Edged Conscience," to name but three—were always published anonymously, as were her books, though their authorship could not long be kept secret. When any of them was praised in her presence, she would declare severely that it should no more be mentioned than if it were an illegitimate child. Upon her husband's proposal to dedicate one of his books to her, she ironically suggested the following:

To that Daughter of Boston
Whose censure and ridicule
Have vastly complicated my task,
  I dedicate this book
At her own earnest wish.

Fortunately the cure that Howe had undergone proved to be successful. After four years during which he devoted virtually all his spare time to the papers of George Bancroft—three enormous Saratoga trunks full of them—the monumental two-volume biography of the historian and diplomat was finished. It won for the author immediate recognition by American scholars.

Howe looked upon his biographical writings as an extension of his editorial work. His method as a biographer was to let the subject, as far as possible, tell his own story. Most of the persons with whom he dealt were highly articulate; in their letters they left records of their thoughts and activities, often buried under much unimportant detail. To release what was vital and interesting, to supply explanatory comment and bridge narrative gaps, called for editorial skill and wide collateral reading. Howe thought that he might look forward to a small immortality in footnotes, for the reason that his biographies were source material for historians. The authors of books and articles relating to the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905, must consult his *Life* (1920) of George von Lengerke Meyer, who at that time was the American ambassador at St. Petersburg. So too, those who would interpret the New England of past days were inadequately equipped for the task unless they had read Howe's books dealing with some of its eminent figures and presenting for the first time material essential to complete understanding.

In his biography of Wendell, Howe quoted his subject's opinion of a biographer's duty that "whoever would tell the truth about any man must be, in the literal sense, his apologist. . . . I mean that the first and perhaps the only duty of an honest biographer is, so far as may be, to set forth the man of whom he writes as that man saw himself, and to explain him on his own terms."

That theory may lead to satisfactory results when the subject is conspicuously an extrovert, who takes an objective view of himself; it cannot be successfully applied to one who, like Barrett Wendell, was introspective and given to underrating himself. In order to show Wendell in action Howe had to seek out other sources than his letters. A revealing passage, for example, is the brief report of an occurrence when Wendell, with his wife and daughter, was returning from Cambridge to Boston after witnessing a football game. "As they were boarding an electric car a man in the crowd thrust Mrs. Wendell aside and was pushing through the door when Wendell managed to arrest his progress by hooking the man's umbrella with the crook of his own walking-stick. 'Be careful, sir!' came the protest, 'you are breaking my umbrella!' 'On the contrary,' said Wendell, 'I am mending your manners.' "

The accuracy and perceptiveness of Howe's appraisal of character are nowhere better shown than in his closing words on Barrett Wendell: "Honest, pure, and original of mind; chivalrous and generous often to the verge of the quixotic; given to decking serious thoughts in the motley of jest and caprice; but, to the core of his being, faithful, and wise, and kind."

In all the biographies Howe's talent for making pictures showed attractively. *Memories of a Hostess* (his old friend Mrs. James T. Fields) is not properly a biography: it is a succession of charming scenes and sketches. One of the most delightful is the description of a dinner party at Mrs. Fields's Charles Street house in Boston at which Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, then nearly ninety years old, rose in response to her septuagenarian hostess' request and recited the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," accompanying the line "Be swift my hands to welcome him, be jubilant my feet!" with a little clap of her hands and a decorous prancing of her feet, while from across the table Henry James gazed with rapt attention at the tiny figure. Afterwards Howe escorted her to her carriage and, having seen her comfortably bestowed, was about to bid her good night when she remarked with satisfaction, "Annie Fields has shrunk."

After thirty-four years of marriage, Mark Howe's wife died in 1933, leaving him with two sons and a daughter, all of whom have achieved distinction. One of his best poems was written in her memory. The closing lines are as follows:

Your old humility
Will not avert the eyes that see,
For kindred souls will know their mate
Through self-disguises poor and thin,
And when you falter at the gate,
Will hale you, shy, reluctant, in:
One of their own immortal kith and kin.

Howe's verse reactions to old age are as charming as they are varied. He was in his eighty-fifth year when he wrote "After Eighty":

Is everything far bigger than of old,
  Far quicker and far noisier in its pace?
Or is it thus that I must now be told
  My station is a mere spectator's place?

So let it be, yet in my heart I know
  That small and slow and quiet things yet live;
And, as their gentler motions forward go,
  That from their store I still may take—and give.

When "The Passenger" was printed in the June, 1955, issue of the *Atlantic*, Howe was nearing his ninety-first birthday:

I sit alone in a way station
On a long railroad,
Waiting for a train that will pick me up.
Nobody can tell me
Precisely when it will arrive,
Or precisely where it will put me down.
The print on my one-way ticket should help,
But it is a little blurred,
And even if I could read
The name of the destination—
Never visited before—
It would not tell what may be found there.

Fond as I have always been of travel,
The thought of this as my last journey—
For such I somehow know it to be—
Brings little comfort.
Yet let me not forget that all my journeys
Have won a crown of happiness
Through coming home.
How will it be this time?
I hear a nearing bell and whistle—
The train will soon be here,
And I shall join its passengers,
Cumbered myself with little luggage,
But bearing in one hand
A parcel packed with thankfulness,
And in the other a parcel of surmise
Not unmixed with hope.

Howe's charming quatrain entitled "Credo Quia Impossible" came about because his friend Randall Thompson had been teaching him to play the recorder:

Why should I blow my heart out on this poor recorder,
   Trying to master every flat and sharp,
When soon across the inexorable border
   I may be taking lessons on the harp?

In memory of his devoted housekeeper, Mary Lawrence, who died in 1957, he wrote the following lines:

The world is so full of a number of people
I should like to see them from the top of a steeple,
But a world I should view with the utmost abhorrence
Is a world that rolls on without Mary Lawrence.

As he was approaching ninety, Howe composed his "Thieving Time":

Now, thieving time, take what you must—
  Quickness to move, to hear, to see.
When dust is drawing near to dust
  Such diminutions need must be.

Yet leave, O leave exempt from plunder
My curiorisity, my wonder.

Mark Howe of Boston died on December 6, 1960, at the age of ninety-six. The Boston newspaper that on the next day characterized him as the "dean of Boston's literary world" was quite correct in its description.

# Meetings

# Annual Meeting

## *OCTOBER*, 1957

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 10, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 9 was read and approved.

The President announced the deaths of Robert Peabody Bellows,[1] of Boston, on May 23, 1957, a Resident Member since 1952; Lee Max Friedman,[2] of Boston, on August 7, 1957, a Resident Member since 1945; and of William Bennett Munro,[3] of Pasadena, California, on September 4, 1957, a Resident Member since 1921 and a Corresponding Member since 1930.

Mr. Paine presented, as of January 26, 1959, the

### *REPORT OF THE TREASURER*

I HEREWITH submit my report to our Society for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957.

I was appointed by President John Adams to take the place of Mr. Charles Jackson as Treasurer as of May 9, 1957. Therefore my brief report of the Society's finances is chiefly concerned with a period before I took office.

Currently the By-Laws of the Society pertaining to the Treasurer and the Finance Committee are being revised. These will probably be presented to the Council and Members for ratification at our next meeting.

During the year just past the Endowment Fund was increased by $9,223 from $66,492 to $75,715. No new Funds were taken in.

The members of the Finance Committee were: JOHN ADAMS, *Chairman*; PARKMAN DEXTER HOWE, CHARLES JACKSON, AUGUSTUS PEABODY LORING, and RALPH LOWELL. Changes in investments concerned chiefly the elimination of three stocks—Boston Insurance Company, Chrysler Corporation, and United Fruit Company—at the beginning of the fiscal year. Also, $214,000 par value U. S. Series G and Series K bonds were sold, and purchases made of $225,000 par value of utility, railroad, industrial bonds, and $50,000 of U. S. Treasury 2¾% bonds due 1961. As a result the Society's income was increased. In addition, there was a slight increase of book values:

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[1] A memoir presented at the November 21, 1957, Quarterly Meeting of the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is on file with the Secretary of the Museum.

[2] For a memoir, see *American Jewish Archives*, x (1958), 12–13.

[3] For a memoir, see *American Political Science Review*, LI (1957), 1204–1205.

| *Book Value June 30, 1957* | *Book Value June 30, 1956* | *Increase* |
|---|---|---|
| $1,199,156 | $1,171,422 | $27,734 |

Income from investments for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1957, totaled $76,102, compared with $73,512 for the preceding year, an increase of $2,590 or 3.5%, and amounted to 3.3% of the market value of investments on that date.

A comparison of market values of the Society's investments follows:

| | *June 30, 1957* | % | *June 30, 1956* | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bonds | $ 490,432 | 21.1 | $ 449,486 | 19.9 |
| Preferred Stocks | 29,488 | 1.3 | 33,113 | 1.5 |
| Common Stocks | 1,734,046 | 74.7 | 1,729,395 | 76.5 |
| Cash Bank Balance | 66,118 | 2.9 | 47,454 | 2.1 |
| | $2,320,084 | 100.0 | $2,259,448 | 100.0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| | $2,320,084 |
| | -2,259,448 |
| | + $60,636 |
| Deduct new additions to principal | 11,336 |
| Increase | $49,300 |

General and administrative expenses for the two years compare as follows:

| | *1957* | *1956* |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $40,592 | $40,263 |
| Administration of funds | 3,973 | 3,789 |
| Meetings and membership | 1,069 | 1,320 |
| Library | 3,678 | 2,785 |
| Building | 6,320 | 7,559 |
| | $55,632 | $55,716 |

These remained practically unchanged for the period. Not included in Building expenses for 1957 as reported above were two nonrecurring items of maintenance which were charged to the income of Norcross Fund, I: $1,883 for painting the outside trim of the Society's building, and $600 for refinishing the third floor ceiling. Also not included were certain expenses charged to the income of specific Funds, including the cost of publishing Volume LXIX (1947-50) of the Society's *Proceedings* ($7,977), and of Volume XXXII, Part 1 (1755) of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* ($3,949, more than half of which was refunded by the Commonwealth). As has been done in recent years, the operating deficit was charged to the unexpended income of the Sibley Fund. After this charge, $5,730 of unexpended Sibley income was added to the accumulated income of the Sibley Fund, and $2,500 of this is earmarked for the publication of the next volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates,* since a volume was not printed this year.

The figures and comparisons do not reflect the Adams Papers Editorial and Microfilm Funds. Complete details of these Funds and of the Society's financial affairs appear in the auditor's report on file at the Society.

(Not mentioned in previous Treasurers' reports was the gift to the Society of $5,005 by our President John Adams, made in December, 1955, to be known as the Theodore Lyman Fund, the income *only* to be used for the general purposes of the Society.)

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Charles P. Blaney, of Wilton, Connecticut, a small lot of miscellaneous manuscripts relating to the Blaney family.

From Miss Nancy E. Carlock, of Los Angeles, California, a letter from Aaron Burr to Governor Joseph Bloomfield, of New Jersey, dated at New York, September 21, 1802, denying any opposition to Thomas Jefferson in the late election.

From Thomas Bradford Drew, of Ossining, New York, the diary of Thomas Bradford Drew (1834–1898), of Kingston and Plymouth, for the years January 1, 1849–April 24, 1898, and his manuscript history of the Pilgrims through the year 1623.

From Mrs. Thorndike H. Endicott, of Walpole, New Hampshire, a number of letters for the period 1833–1862 to be added to the Henry W. Bellows Papers.

From the Fall River Historical Society, a small collection of papers of Dr. Abraham Lowe (1755–1849), of Ashburnham, 1768–1841.

From Benjamin Joy, a letter from Charles Bulfinch to Benjamin Joy dated at Washington, July 24, 1827, expressing his pleasure at the news of his son George's engagement to Benjamin Joy's daughter.

From G. Prescott Low, of Quincy, a set of microfilms of the *Quincy Patriot Ledger* for the years 1837 through 1845.

From Mrs. Lovett Sturgis, of New York, New York, a volume of autographs collected by Robert Williamson Lovett. Documents bearing the signature of George Washington, John Adams, John Hancock, and others are included in the volume.

From Nathaniel Winthrop, of New York, New York, a letter written by Professor John Winthrop to Judge Jonathan Belcher dated at Cambridge, June 13, 1765, about benefactors of the new library at Harvard College.

By purchase: the travel diary of Henry B. Humphrey, of Boston, April 29, 1839–February 28, 1841.

Mr. Adams announced that the Society would vote on the increase in Resident Membership from 125 to 150. After various remarks for and against the proposal had been made, a secret ballot was had in which, out of 31 votes cast, 26 were in the affirmative and 5 in the negative.

The President announced the appointment of Stephen Thomas Riley as Director of the Society, and of Malcolm Freiberg as Editor.

The business of the stated meeting having been concluded, the Society proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Chauncey C. Nash, on behalf of the Nominating Committee, presented the following nominations:

*President*
THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS

*Vice-Presidents*
KEYES DEWITT METCALF
STEPHEN WHEATLAND

*Recording Secretary*
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

*Corresponding Secretary*
CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS

*Treasurer*
JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

*Cabinet-Keeper*
EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON

*Members-at-Large of the Council*
1957–1960
LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

It was voted that the Recording Secretary cast one ballot for the slate, and the President then declared the new officers duly elected.

In the absence of Mr. Mitchell, the retiring Director, Mr. Shipton read the

## *REPORT OF THE COUNCIL*

WHEN your Director took over his office in March, 1947, he decided to persuade the Society to clean up the grimy pictures and portraits, remodel the building, increase the Endowment Funds, enlarge the Membership—and to stay in office for no more than ten years. On the Ides of March, 1957, he prepared the statement which he presented to the Council at its Meeting on April 11, thus leaving the Council six months' time to prepare for his retirement. He will be sixty-five on November 25, after which he hopes to spend the next thirty years of his life in comparative peace and quiet. At his own request, he has been left off all committees, but he will always give the Society all the help he can for which it may ask. He will take care to offer no advice.

During the past ten years, he is proud to say, things have gone from bad to better, and all this with the loyal, if sometimes startled, cooperation of the Council, of the Librarian, and of the staff. Approximately $100,000 has been spent on the building, most of this money coming from a Building Fund, which had been collected and salted away year after year. Before long, moreover, a total of about $300,000 of new money will have been added to the capital of the Society since 1947. The rigid and unwise limitation on the Resident Membership established by the Legislature, at the request of the Society, just one hundred years ago, has been relaxed.

What is even more important, the Society has been careful not to commit itself to expensive projects of publishing without adequate funds—witness the handsome bargain made in regard to the great gift of the Adams Papers on April 4, 1956. In 1920, be it forever remembered, the Society gaily agreed to edit and publish a definitive edition of the Winthrop Papers on the income of a capital sum of $15,000. Frederic Winthrop left it an additional $25,000 in 1932, but the return on $40,000 is still insufficient for meeting a fair share of the editor's salary and the constantly rising cost of printing. We should face the grim fact that this Society simply is not rich enough to maintain this building, to pay the necessary wages, and print all the books which it might be pleasant to produce, as well. At the direction of the Council, the price of the *Collections* of the Society has been raised from $5.00 to $7.50; of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* from $5.00 to $7.50; of the *Journals of the House of Representatives* from $3.00 to $5.00. The old, lighthearted days of spendthrift publishing and selling are gone, it may be hoped forever, for money, which is never the last thing in life, is always the first.

During the past year, the meetings of the Society have been reasonably well attended, an average of thirty-two Members turning up for them, not counting the forty-six who came to the Annual Dinner. The Spring Reception went off as well as usual, some two hundred and fifty-two Members and guests being present. Your Director takes satisfaction in the thought that it was he who persuaded the Council to establish the custom of these dinners and receptions.

The following changes in Membership have occurred. The following Members have died: Robert Peabody Bellows, of Boston, architect, gentleman, and, for many years, an unpaid servant of Boston; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of Cambridge, a great professor of law, a genial friend, dangerously in love with liberty; Lee Max Friedman, of Boston, a distinguished and successful lawyer and a generous friend of this Society; Henry Dwight Sedgwick, of Dedham, a man of letters and of many books, the best of them dealing with Italy; and George Robert Walcott, of Cambridge, a man of strong and strict opinions, lately President of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Two Corresponding Members have died: William Bennett Munro, formerly Professor of Government at Harvard until 1929, died on September 4, 1957, at the age of eighty-two. From 1907 to 1921, he was an editorial writer on the staff of the *Boston Herald*. He was elected a Resident Member in 1921 and a Corresponding Member in 1933. In 1929 he joined the faculty of the California Institute of Technology. Roland Greene Usher, professor of history, author of the once famous best seller, *Pan-Germanism*, and of a very good book, *The Pilgrims and Their History*, died at St. Louis, Missouri, on March 22, 1957. And another—William Davis Miller, of Wakefield, Rhode Island—resigned because of hopeless ill health. Two Resident Members—Arthur Burr Darling and Vernon Dale Tate—were transferred to Corresponding Membership, and Lester Jesse Cappon, of Williamsburg, Virginia, was elected a Corresponding Member. Four Resident Members have been added in the course of the year—Charles Sumner Bird, of Boston and Walpole; William Bradford Osgood, of Boston; Thomas Emerson Proctor, of Hamilton; and Francis Henry Taylor, of Worcester. At present, there are three vacancies in the Resident Membership and one in the Corresponding Membership.

As you well know, our President is retiring after seven years of service. Your Director deliberately refrains from praising his work, for none of you should need to be told of it, and Mr. Adams would not be pleased to have it dwelt upon. All the changes in the officers of the Society have been made at the request of those who are retiring.

We have had our trials and tribulations. The janitor on duty when your Director took office lost his mind in this building, here, before our very faces, and had to be locked up until he died; his very good successor died of a heart attack overnight; his brother and successor suddenly developed a strange illness and had to be relieved; the present janitor lost his wife and sole companion last June and is now desperately ill.

The tenth volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* is well on its way, and *Proceedings*, 70, should be in the hands of the Members before 1958. The chore of reproducing Volume XXXII of the *Journals of the House of Representatives* was completed last June. The typescript of Volumes VI and VII of the *Winthrop Papers* is now practically ready for the new Editor to work on. This toil is unreasonably prodigious, for the preposterous pedantry of preserving seventeenth-century orthography requires the spelling out of every third or fourth word in the checking of copies and the reading of proof. Substance, not spelling, is the important thing.

At the risk of playing Cassandra, for whom he has always had a keen sympathy, your Director warns you that there is still rough water ahead of us. The mounting spiral of inflation, which is a menace to every human being, directly or indirectly, seems likely to continue, and no one can tell what the dollar may be worth in purchasing power ten years from now. This means that we must spend nothing but income and try to increase our capital constantly. Two great wars have made our world a dangerous and a very expensive one in which to live.

And now, Gentlemen, permit your servant to depart in peace, according to his word.

Mr. Riley then read the

## *REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN*

THE future historian of the Massachusetts Historical Society will have a merry time of it if he ever attempts to collect casual references to the Society. His search will indeed be a catholic one, for the Society's name has a way of cropping up in widely dissimilar places. While it is entirely fitting to read of Henry David Thoreau's strolling along the sandy roads of Cape Cod with the eighth volume of the Society's *Collections* tucked under his arm, it comes as rather a surprise to find the Society referred to—and wrongly—in a recent issue of the *New Yorker*. Perhaps it will be well for the historian to confine himself to professional literature. This surely will be enough to occupy his time, for very few historical works based on the New England scene appear that do not carry a word of thanks to the Society for assistance received. Judging from the steady stream of researchers who came to the library this past year, we can truthfully say there is little danger of a serious lapse in production. Among others, we had David Donald, who has been long engaged on his life of Charles Sumner; Holman Hamilton, who is close to publishing his book on the Compromise of 1850; Merle Curti, who is working on a history of American philanthropy; and several popular writers whose productions if not touched with fire do have the golden touch.

The past summer drew a record number of visitors to the library and has pointed up a problem that will soon have to be faced. Our reading room will seat only eight workers comfortably. During July and August we often had fourteen readers studying here at the same time. If we are to provide suitable quarters for them and still maintain proper supervision we must have a larger reading room.

The staff would like to go on record as saying that our visitors, with the rare exception, are of the highest possible caliber. Friendly and helpful, they have used our collections carefully and have shown us in many ways that they liked working here. But there is that rare exception. Such a one visited us in 1939—ostensibly to work on the Polish patriot, Kosciusko. After examining our materials, he departed silently and unexpectedly with a valuable manuscript plan of West Point hidden on his person. No librarian ever accepts such a theft philosophically. It rankles in his memory like some youthful blunder. Fortunately this summer the wrong was righted. Years ago the Society had furnished West Point with a photostat of the plan. When the original was given to West Point this year, the Director of the Museum became suspicious. He quickly wrote to us about the plan, and we provided him with indisputable evidence of our ownership. Through his good offices the plan was returned to us several weeks ago.

In addition to its regular duties, the staff has been engaged in several special projects. A detailed listing of our major manuscript holdings has been completed and much work done in replacing the small cards in our manuscript catalogue by standard-sized cards. The Henry Adams library is now being recatalogued, the Robert Treat Paine Papers decased and repaired, and the Minot Papers put in good order. It has been roughly estimated that this last collection will eventually fill about 1,200 archival boxes. Mrs. Carleton R. Richmond continues her fine work on our prints. She was most helpful in preparing them for the Spring Exhibition—as was David Little, the print-hanger extraordinary. Time and time again we have called on Edward P. Hamilton, our Cabinet-Keeper, for technical assistance; and he has never failed us whether it be for installing air conditioners or making brass rods for our catalogue cases.

Altogether about 1,300[4] printed items have been added to the library. This past year we have placed particular stress on acquiring relatively recent publications on American history and biography, for they are sorely needed in our various editorial projects. May I say again that if any member has works of this description he is willing to part with, we should be delighted to have them. We did acquire a number of early Massachusetts imprints, the most important of which is [Paul Dudley], *Objections to the Bank of Credit Lately Pro-*

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[4] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1956–1957 are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Books | 306 |
| Pamphlets | 205 |
| Periodicals | 659 |
| Broadsides | 54 |
| Newspapers | 96 |
| Maps | 4 |
| *Total* | 1,324 |

*jected at Boston* (Boston, 1714). The purchase of this rare currency tract filled a gap that had long troubled us.

After reporting last year the acquisition of the Adams Papers, the Paul Revere Papers, and certain Francis Parkman Papers, your librarian felt like some one who had won the Pulitzer Prize at the age of sixteen. What else was there to live for? But new collections of manuscripts have been received which though not so spectacular on the surface have revealed upon examination veins of the purest gold. I should like to describe briefly a few of these collections.

By good fortune we were able to purchase eighty-five volumes of manuscripts of the Boston Almshouse and Overseers of the Poor for the period 1738 through 1925. The student of social history will find rich materials here, for the records present detailed information about the methods employed by a community to cope with not only its own destitute but also with an increasing number of immigrants. It is interesting to note the change from Yankee name to Irish name as the tide of immigration swelled, reaching its peak in the 1840's, the time of the Irish Famine. Long lists of names of those unfortunate people who died in the almshouse of ship fever give stark testimony of the hardships endured by those who crossed the ocean in steerage.

When Edward P. Hamilton started bringing the papers of George Bemis (1816–1878) to the Society about a year ago, he did so with some misgivings; for he had looked in Bemis' early diaries and had found them rather dull. With a little urging, however, he was persuaded to bring in the rest of the collection—a very fortunate move for us. George Bemis was a prominent Boston lawyer—he had served as associate counsel for the prosecution in the Parkman-Webster murder case—who after his retirement from the law in 1858 lived much of his life abroad. He became interested in international law and wrote treatises on certain phases of that subject which were in dispute between the United States and Great Britain. Bemis corresponded with Charles Sumner during the Civil War and afterward. He appears to have been an unofficial adviser to the American State Department. He also became an intimate of the Storys and Sargents in Rome and of other members of that small American group which moved with the seasons from one European capital to another. The papers were not ready for use until late June. Since that time they have been examined by at least three researchers, who have found much new information on the lives of the men they are investigating, namely, John Singer Sargent, Charles Sumner, and Daniel Webster.

The Society has never considered itself to be especially rich in Daniel Webster manuscripts. When we received a request for information from Dartmouth College about our Webster holdings this year, we made an actual count. The count showed that we had better than 1,100 items. This makes our collection the second in size and probably the first in quality. We have since been informed that roughly only sixteen per cent of our material has been printed in the standard editions of Webster's writings. It was with considerable pleasure, therefore, that I came upon an account of the interviews which George Bemis had with Judge Richard Fletcher on January 26 and February 8, 1864. Judge Fletcher had been a student in Daniel Webster's law office and had the following reminiscences to contribute:

> Memorandum February 8th Today he talked nearly an hour about Mr. Webster. When he first went to Portsmouth he boarded in Mr. Webster's family. Mrs. Webster was a clergyman's daughter, Grace Fletcher; her father being an orthodox preacher in Hopkinston [?] NH. She was a religious woman and Mr. W. was really attached to her and she exerted a good deal of influence over him. Judge F. well remembers the occasion of their having family prayers for the first time. It was after he had come to be an inmate of his family. He remembers how the stand was brought in and how the servants were called in and be made a part of the circle. Mr. W. read a chapter in the bible most impressively, and then made an extemperaneous prayer. The practice of family worship was ever after kept up while Judge F. boarded there. He also remembers Mr. W. being taken into the church; of having the covenant read to him after the orthodox fashion and of his being publicly admitted. This was at Boscawen or Hopkinton [?]. While Judge F was in the family, the future wife of George Blake used to visit there, being a relative of Mrs W. [?]. This in some degree explains the subsequent intimacy of Mr. W. with Blake. He was also intimate with Solr Genl Danl Davis and Isaac P. Davis.
>
> As to Mr. Webster's subsequent religious life, Judge F. thinks that he was a good deal shaken in his faith or practice by the death of his wife, and previous to that by attending the Brattle St. Church, that being then the Court church of Boston. He subsequently took a half way step in helping form the St. Paul's Episcopalian Society which he made part of, or whose church he attended many years. He bought a tomb there and his first wife is buried there. When Mr. Webster came to Boston his debts already amounted to $40,000 as his brother Ezekiel told Judge F; and yet he hadn't then been in practice more than six or eight years and had had a great deal of business. Judge F says that some years since 1848? the administrator of a deceased classmate Judge Barrows sent him a letter written by himself (J. Fletcher) descriptive of Mr. Webster,

when he was his student. The letter was sent for J Fletcher's own perusal and to be returned. It was accordingly so sent back. In this letter Judge F describes with great particularity Mr. Webster's leading traits, and predicted a celebrated future, if he lived. The judge thought he had made a very good prophecy and given a just account. At that time Webster was a noble man. In answer to my question whether he did not impress himself strongly upon Judge F's youthful mind he said certainly; though he did not indicate whether the golden chord of sympathy was bright between them, nor when nor how it afterwards grew dull. He spoke in the outset of Mr. Webster's always making great pretensions to systematic professional reading and studying, when in fact he did nothing more than he was compelled to attend to his cases. On that score as on the beauties of temperance he could expatiate beautifully when his practice was quite otherwise. He had more fancy than fact on his side about that, just as he had about his property. He always gave his son (probably) an idea that he was going to leave him rich, and in fact he was always in debt if he could find any body to trust him. Judge F. illustrated this by an anecdote of his riding out of Boston on a visit; and of his Judge F's volunteering to pay toll as they came to a bridge, when Webster forbade it, saying that he had a bill and always made a point of getting trusted where he could.

He spoke of listening to Webster's first speech in court after his removal to Portsmouth as one of his greatest efforts. It was on the prosecution of a man named Morill for passing counterfeit money. Morill was a member of the State Senate at the time and quite the leader of the democratic party. The peroration, some of which J F repeated was particularly fine. Jereh Mason told Judge F shortly before his death, that he regarded it as one of the greatest efforts of Mr. W's life. Mr. Mason was opposed to Webster at the time and got his client acquitted.

The Civil War still seems very near to us, even with the last Encampment over and the centennial year almost upon us. But Civil War manuscripts, which until recently were offered to us with some hesitation, are now assuming a new importance in their owners' eyes. We are happy to say that this Society has long made it a policy to accept such papers and has built up a collection of considerable importance. Besides the Bemis Papers, we have received this year the diaries and papers of Edward Tobey Barker, the papers of Major Atherton H. Stevens, Jr., of the First Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry, and additions to the papers of Henry W. Bellows, the founder of the United States Sanitary Commission. I should like to quote from a new accession, a long letter written by Turner W. Sargent to George Bemis, dated at Boston May 27, 1861, which describes the war fever that prevailed in Boston after the fall of Fort Sumter:

My last, was pending the Evacuation or now—Evacuation of Fort Sumter. You know the result—but you will never realize the wonderful effect it had here, at the North, and the magnificent uprising. I can compare the effect to nothing better, than for you to suppose yourself overlooking the Roman Campagna, quiet and deserted, to see a flag go down on the Dome of St. Peters, and instantly the whole Campagna filled with armed men and bayonets!! This does not exaggerate the springing to the feet—it was really sublime. From that day to this morning, Boston has been tramped over with soldiers—nothing else is done, or spoken of, or thought of, or written about, or preached about from every pulpit, but War, War, War. Every body keeps "step" in walking, and merchants living out of town, walk by my windows at the tap of the drum! the parade ground is before us—flags are from every flag staff and cross every street and in many places from every window, and it is tap, tap, tap, and left right, left right, all day long—some days you can scarcely elbow your way through the streets, and all the halls, Faneuil, and great Railroad depots are turned into barracks. As to our individual selves, Mrs. S has had the house filled constantly with persons, making up flannel; and shirts, drawers, handkerchiefs, books, donations have gone out from "No 59", enough for regiments. I drill every afternoon on the common, and once a week am "under arms" 6 hours besides marching and exercising in the country and running back! I belong to what is called the Zouave drill club under a Frenchman, and I should judge we mustered nearly 1000. Zouave jacket and crimson cap. I dont know what it is all coming to I am sure, but this is to show you how we feel about this villainous *Treason*: there is no other word for it, and there is no party left now—it is all one way—and Flag-ism, Patriotism and Self Interest and Preservation have produced a tremendous power for the South, to contend against. Now and then you meet with lukewarmness and the vis inertiae, but nobody dares, to hint any thing in favor of the South: if he is a common man, he is knocked down, if he is prominent, he is politely waited upon! at first, cases were quite numerous; now, none.

And later:

The South, if ½ what is said is true are excited to a fearful degree, and I am afraid better prepared and officered—their hate also is intense: My brother in law Rev. Mr. Campbell of Charleston, South Carolina writes me letters of 20 pages and sends me pamphlets justifying their view of it and informing me that every man is a perfect rifle shot and always been used to the weapon, and the horse, from boyhood; he himself can shoot a mallard 125 yards—he ridiculed the idea of my patriotism, and my announcement to him of the Northern uprising; he then justified Slavery on religious grounds and calls upon the God of Battles and of Righteousness! Now what are you going to do with such persons? I answered my Reverend friend yesterday that there was no necessity of discussing the point any more—we never should agree; that he was educated under the Institution of Slavery, and I under the Institution of Liberty—he fought for Liberty for Slavery's sake and I for Liberty for Liberty's sake! In allusion to his remark, that the South had for Allies, the Yellow fever, the Country fever and the Pestilence of Charleston, I answered as most of our Regiments were furnished with Bibles and Prayer books, I presumed that their Chaplains would refer them to the 18th day of the month Morning prayer, Psalm XCI, from which they would learn how to combat such abominations. I rather "*had*" my Reverend Brother there and congratulating myself, that I was not a mallard on a lonely Southern beach within 125 yards of his deadly rifle, I closed the correspondence.

Lest we think that the practice of criticizing generals is a modern one, I quote a contemporary judgment on General McClellan written by T. S. King to Henry W. Bellows from San Francisco, October 10, 1862:

> When shall we strike again from the Potomac? "Little Mac" still hugs the Maryland shore. Pope was a flatulent soul; but if McClellan turns out a genius, there is no truth in physiognomy. He would do to invest Gibraltar, or bombard Teneriffe, or attack any fossil concern that couldn't change outline,—but a foe that has alertness and two ideas an hour beats him after he has won a victory. And Halleck is fit for one bureau in the War Department. He is a man of the reddest tape.—Bellows, make a dash for the chief command! You could do *the thing* and save us!

Finally I should like to mention the great additions made to our John Davis Long collection by Dr. Margaret Long, of Denver. Her gift of forty-eight volumes of letter books kept while Long was Secretary of the Navy, and other papers, makes the collection one of our major holdings. It would be difficult to conceive of any historian writing a detailed study of the Spanish-American War without making use of these manuscripts.

The strengthening of our collections goes on steadily. As I have said in other reports this is in large measure due to the assistance of members and friends. Over the years the Librarian has been particularly helped and encouraged by two men who are retiring from office this year. John Adams and Stewart Mitchell have done much for this Society. Only those of us who spend our days here know how much. They truly deserve the Society's thanks.

The Meeting adjourned at 4:10 P.M.

The Annual Dinner of the Society was held the same evening at the Club of Odd Volumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston. There were present thirty-seven Resident Members, three Corresponding Members, and one guest.

Former President John Adams presided at the Dinner, and the Speaker was the Honorable Raymond Sanger Wilkins, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.

## November Meeting, 1957

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, November 14, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 10 was read and approved.

The President announced the death of Stewart Mitchell[5] on November 3, 1957. He was elected a Resident Member on April 14, 1932, served as Editor, 1929–1939, and as Director, 1947–1957.

The President announced the Standing Committees for 1958:

*Finance:* JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., *Chairman*; THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, WILLIAM HENRY CLAFLIN, and HENRY LEE SHATTUCK.

*House:* CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, *Chairman*; JOHN ADAMS, BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, and CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

*Library:* LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, *Chairman*; KEYES DEWITT METCALF, and HENRY LATIMER SEAVER.

*Meetings:* WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON, *Chairman*; WILLIAM PHILLIPS, and STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY.

*Membership:* THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, *Chairman*; JOHN ADAMS, HENRY FORBUSH HOWE, CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

*Publication:* ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, *Chairman*; LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

The President announced the appeal to Members for contributions to the Endowment Fund, to be made in the month of December. Mr. John Adams observed that $85,000 had already been raised for the fund through similar gifts in earlier years.

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[5] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 361–363.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, a very important addition to the Coolidge Thomas Jefferson collection, presented to the Society in 1898 by Mr. Coolidge's grandfather. In all there are 282 new items for the period 1775–1827, consisting chiefly of letters exchanged by Thomas Jefferson and his daughters, Maria and Martha, and their husbands, John W. Eppes and Thomas Randolph. There is also a valuable group of letters to Jefferson from his overseers and business agents at Monticello, Poplar Forest, and Richmond. Microfilms of all of these letters have already been furnished to Julian P. Boyd for the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson.*

From George Goodspeed, a chromolithograph depicting an aerial view of Quincy, Massachusetts, "From Nature, by E. Whitefield 1877" (copyright 1878). This is considered to be the most useful guide to the historical geography of Quincy produced in the nineteenth century.

From Mrs. Llewellyn Howland, of South Dartmouth, Mrs. Frank C. Paine, of Wayland, Mrs. John B. Paine, of Weston, and Mrs. Frederick Winsor, of Boston, a very valuable collection of autograph letters. Among the historic personages represented in this collection by at least one letter are: Abigail Adams, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Fisher Ames, Bishop Cheverus, James Fenimore Cooper, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Washington Irving, Thomas Jefferson, Lafayette, Philip Schuyler, George Washington, and Martha Washington.

From Frederick A. Stevens, of Melrose, a small collection of manuscripts for the period 1855–1872, to be added to the Civil War papers of Major Atherton H. Stevens, Jr., of the First Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry.

By purchase: two letters written by Edmund Quincy (1703–1788) to his granddaughter, Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, dated March 4, 1772, and March 10, 1781; five letters written by Henry Quincy (1727–1780) to his daughter and son-in-law, Dr. and Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, August 12, 1774–May 19, 1777; a journal kept by Quincy Thaxter (1762–  ), March 11, 1774–May 23, 1778; and sixty-one letters written by John Thaxter (1755–1792), principally to his father, John Thaxter, of Hingham, and his sister Celia. John Thaxter was a member of the Harvard Class of 1774. He served as a deputy secretary to the Continental Congress in 1776 and later as a secretary to John Adams. It was he who carried the Definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain to America in September, 1783, which was read before Congress in Annapolis on December 13, 1783.

Mr. Riley read a paper by Mr. Richard LeBaron Bowen who, because of illness, was unable to be present in person. The paper was entitled "The 1690 Tax Revolt of Plymouth Colony Towns."[6]

In the discussion that followed, Messrs. Curtis and Homans and

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[6] Printed in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, CXII (1958), 4–14.

Dr. Howe succeeded in commenting upon the fact that the members of the Harvard Corporation, on Commencement Day, donned top hats and morning coats to distinguish themselves as a non-professional group—thus drawing a salutary line between the administrators who govern and the professors who teach.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# December Meeting, 1957

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 12, 1957, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 14 was read and approved.

The President announced the deaths of Roland Gray,[7] elected a Resident Member on March 10, 1932, which took place at Cambridge on November 23, 1957, and of Francis Henry Taylor,[8] elected a Resident Member on January 10, 1957, which occurred at Worcester on November 22, 1957.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Sherman Adams, of Washington, D. C., a letter written by John Adams to Dr. Benjamin Rush, dated at Quincy, April 12, 1809, and a document dated at Washington, May 2, 1826, containing the autograph signatures of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay.

From Mrs. Edward Dufner, of Short Hills, New Jersey, a collection of the works of her father, Will Bradley, the illustrator.

From Edward Pierce Hamilton, a volume of the manuscript diary of George Bemis (1816-1878) from April 21, 1841, through January 15, 1843, to be added to the Bemis Papers.

From Mrs. Charles Jackson, of Dover, a letter written by Joseph Jefferson (1829–1905) to James J. Higginson, Jr., dated at New York, February 16, 1896, about his engagement in charitable work.

From John Richardson, of Boston, a large collection of Higginson-Cabot-Channing Papers, 1783–1905. Of particular interest is a long series of letters written by Dr. Francis J. Higginson in 1837–1838 from Michigan while seeking a place to establish his practice.

Mr. Elting E. Morison then read a paper entitled "Theodore

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[7] For an obituary, see the *New York Times*, Nov. 24, 1957, p. 86.

[8] A memoir is scheduled for a future volume in this series.

Roosevelt Appoints a Judge."[9] This very diverting and instructive account of attempted reform in the southern district of the state of New York in 1906 led to considerable reminiscence by members of William H. Moody of Haverhill, who had, as a first step in the events described by Mr. Morison, been appointed Attorney General of the United States by President Roosevelt.

The meeting adjourned at 4:10 P.M.

# January Meeting, 1958

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, January 9, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of December 12 was read and approved.

Dr. George Cheever Shattuck, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member, Mr. John Adams speaking as Sponsor.

The President mentioned the possibility of introducing guests to monthly meetings, in small numbers, and requested any Member who might wish to have a guest invited to notify the Director sufficiently in advance so that a formal invitation could be sent in the name of the Society if space were available.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Charles Pelham Curtis, a typewritten manuscript by Caroline G. Curtis, "Memories of Fifty Years in the Last Century," Boston, 1908.

From Rev. Henry Wilder Foote, a small collection of manuscripts including scattered sections of the diary of Benjamin Guild (1749–1792) from September 1, 1774, through November 1, 1779. Benjamin Guild was a member of the Harvard Class of 1769 and served as a tutor from 1776 to 1780.

From Mrs. Thorndike H. Endicott, of Walpole, New Hampshire, various journals of Rev. Ephraim Peabody (1807–1856), his wife, Mrs. Mary Jane (Derby) Peabody, and other members of the Derby-Peabody family, 1802–1868. Mrs. Endicott also presented the Society with the manuscript autobiography of Mrs. Mary Jane (Derby) Peabody, a sheaf of letters written to her by her brother Richard Derby in 1831–1832, and a number of volumes of newspaper cuttings, etc., relating to Rev. Ephraim Peabody and Henry Whitney Bellows.

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[9] Printed in this volume, pp. 309–322.

By purchase: a collection of miscellaneous Massachusetts manuscripts, 1714–1827.

Mr. Claude M. Fuess then gave a diverting paper entitled "Political Ghostwriting in American History,"[10] in which, among other things, he mentioned Daniel Webster's description of having removed a superfluity of classical allusions from the inaugural address of President William Henry Harrison—"I have killed seventeen proconsuls as dead as smelts."

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# February Meeting, 1958

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 13, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of January 9 was read and approved.

The Society then elected Mr. James Lawrence, Jr., of Brookline, a Resident Member, Mr. Homans speaking as Sponsor, and Mr. Andrew Oliver, of New York, New York, a Corresponding Member, sponsored by Mr. Whitehill. It was suggested that Mr. Oliver's election would provide the Society with one more Tory to offset the Whig influence.

The President reported to the Society the establishment of a Library Fund for the improvement, enlargement, and maintenance of the collections, to which Mr. Seaver had already given a gift of $1,000.

The President then placed his hat upon the table with the remark that on the Scottish border it was the custom, when the larder ran low, for the housewife to send to table in place of a steaming joint, a platter containing her husband's armor and a sword, as a delicate hint that the time had arrived for him to replenish the larder. His hat, which was intended to remind Members of the desiccated state of the Madeira Fund, was soon filled with bills, thus assuring an adequate supply of Madeira for several meetings to come.

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[10] Printed in *American Heritage*, Dec., 1958, pp. 45–47, 97–99, as "Ghosts in the White House."

The Corresponding Secretary reported that acceptance of Resident Membership had been received from Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Brookline.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From the Boston Medical Library, a small collection of manuscripts, including letters of John A. Andrew, Rufus Choate, and Wendell Phillips.

From Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, a small collection of manuscripts, including letters of Louis Agassiz, Edward Everett, John Lothrop Motley, William Hickling Prescott, and Daniel Webster.

From Mrs. Robert Homans, of Boston, a commonplace book kept by Henry Adams containing notes on Chartres, etc.

From Mrs. Henry M. Keyes, of Concord, some manuscripts, photographs, and printed material relating to the Walcott family, 1674–1921.

From Mrs. Ralph Lowell, of Westwood, the diaries of Lucy Lowell for 1888, 1890, and 1899–1942, and other miscellaneous manuscripts relating to the Lowell family.

The Director called attention to the Winthrop manuscripts in the exhibition cases, which had been assembled in honor of two books concerning the Winthrop family that were to be published in the near future—a historical study by Edmund S. Morgan, and a novel by Anya Seton. The manuscripts had been previously exhibited at a reception for Miss Seton given by Houghton Mifflin Company at the house of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

Mr. Riley then read a section of a letter from J. L. Motley to William Amory on the conclusion of the Civil War in which Motley, speaking of U. S. Grant, remarked, "What could be more heroic than his stupendous bashfulness!"

Mr. C. K. Shipton read a paper on James Otis, Jr.[11]

At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Bertram K. Little reported on a meeting that he and Mr. Riley had attended concerning the renovation of Faneuil Hall. The discussion that followed indicated the overwhelming desire of the meeting that the Council's views concerning the retention of the historic character of Faneuil Hall be supported to the limit.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

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[11] Printed in *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, XI (1960), 247–287.

# March Meeting, 1958

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 13, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 13 was read and approved.

Mr. Curtis reported acceptances of Resident Membership from James Lawrence, Jr., of Brookline, and of Corresponding Membership from Andrew Oliver, of New York, New York.

The Society then elected to Resident Membership Mr. Marion Vernon Brewington, of Salem, Mr. Whitehill speaking as Sponsor, and Mr. Charles Hopkinson, of Cambridge, President Adams speaking as Sponsor.

The President reported to the Society that as the Library Fund stood at $1,604.47 he would add three cents and make it an even figure. He reported that the Council had accepted the report of the Library Committee regarding policy, which would permit the immediate weeding of the shelves so far as that seemed appropriate.

Due to the absence of Mr. Riley, through illness, the usual Director's report of accessions was omitted.

Mr. Edmund S. Morgan read a paper on "Ezra Stiles and Timothy Dwight,"[12] which stimulated considerable discussion. Dr. H. F. Howe, as a loyal alumnus of that college, thanked Mr. Morgan for whitewashing the Yale of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. President Adams, commenting upon the personal effect of these presidents on the state of belief at Yale, observed that it was Prohibition, and not Mr. Lowell, that plunged Harvard College into infidelity when he was a student there.

The meeting adjourned at 4:20 P.M.

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[12] Printed in this volume, pp. 101–117.

# April Meeting, 1958

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 10, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of March 13 was read and approved.

Mr. Curtis reported receipt of acceptances of Resident Membership from Marion Vernon Brewington, of Salem, and Charles Hopkinson, of Cambridge.

The Society then elected to Resident Membership Mr. Maurice Cary Blake, of Brookline, Messrs. Hamilton and Whitney acting as Sponsors; Mr. Richard Mott Gummere, of Cambridge, Dr. Bowditch acting as Sponsor; and the Reverend Robert Dale Richardson, of Concord, Mr. Whitehill acting as Sponsor in the absence of Mr. Foote. All elections were by ballot and unanimous.

The President announced the appointment of the following Committees:

*Nominating Committee:* CHAUNCEY CUSHING NASH, *Chairman*; LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, HENRY FORBUSH HOWE, and JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

*Committee on the Museum:* EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, *Chairman*; MARION VERNON BREWINGTON, CHARLES DYER CHILDS, BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, and DAVID BRITTON LITTLE.

The President spoke of the long service in the Society of Warren Gage Wheeler, amounting to forty-five years on April 14, 1958.

The Director reported the following accessions for March:

From Miss Elizabeth Hamlen, of Boston, a recognizance bond dated December 23, 1697, ordering John Ireland to answer the charge that he defamed Captain Cyprian Southack; also, an indenture recording the lease of a house and garden by Thomas Dummer to David Pritchard dated April 5, 1720.

From Mrs. Henry Lyman, of Boston, a selection of Civil War letters from the papers of Theodore Lyman, and a volume of photographs of Massachusetts men who died in the War.

From Mrs. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, of Tucson, Arizona, a letter from Peter Orlando Hutchinson to William P. H. Hutchinson, dated at Sidmouth, Devon, February 17, 1870, in which is quoted, from the diary of Elisha Hutchinson, an account of the death in 1780 of their common ancestor, Gov. Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts.

On deposit: from Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, a large collection of manuscripts of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge (1831–1920) for the period 1884–1905. The collection is contained in nineteen volumes and one box.

By purchase: a small but important collection of manuscripts chiefly by or relating to Thomas Cushing (1725–1788). In the collection are letters from Henry Clay, Deborah Cushing, John Dickinson, James Duane, William Gordon, Joseph Story, and Peter Thacher. One letter bears the autographs of four signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The Director reported the following accessions for April:

From Mrs. Henry Lyman, of Boston, a typewritten transcript of the diary of Theodore Lyman, September 2, 1863–July 1, 1865.

From Dr. George Cheever Shattuck and Henry Lee Shattuck, large additions to the Lee family papers.

By purchase: a rare broadside, [Jonathan Mitchell Sewall], *Washington: A Favorite New Song in the American Camp* (Danvers, 1776?); a fine copy of the important pamphlet, *A Letter from William Shirley, Esq.; Governor of Massachuset's Bay, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle: with A Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg. . . .* (London, 1746); and the interesting volume, *Trial by a Court Martial of Lieut. Col. Grenville Temple Winthrop, on charges preferred against him by Adjutant Gen. William H. Sumner, in pursuance of orders from His Excellency Levi Lincoln, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1832).

Mr. I. Bernard Cohen then read a paper entitled "The History of Science and the Study of History, with Special Reference to the Growth of America."

The meeting adjourned at 4:20 P.M.

# May Meeting, 1958

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 8, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of April 10 was read and approved.

Mr. Homans, acting as Corresponding Secretary in the absence of Mr. Curtis, reported the receipt of acceptances of Resident Membership from Messrs. Maurice Cary Blake, Richard Mott Gummere, and Robert Dale Richardson.

At the request of the Treasurer the Society voted that "The Income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society."

Mr. Adams announced the death of Donald McKay Frost,[13] elected a Resident Member on February 9, 1939, which had taken place in Boston on April 14, 1958, after an illness extending over a decade.

Mr. Bernard Bailyn of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member, C. K. Shipton acting as Sponsor, and Mr. Malcolm Freiberg of Belmont was elected a Resident Member with S. T. Riley as his Sponsor, both elections being by ballot and unanimous.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Miss Edith L. Haskell, of Newton Centre, a promissory note signed by William [?] Crawford agreeing to repay a loan from Colonel George Washington. The note is dated May 8, 1760, and is in Washington's hand.

From Mrs. Frederick M. Raynes, of West Lynn, various diaries of Eugene M. Carpenter, of Charlestown, and others of the Carpenter family, for the period, 1867–1889.

From Dr. George Cheever Shattuck and Henry Lee Shattuck, additions to the Lee family papers, 1715-1833.

From Mrs. Samuel E. Thorne, of Cambridge, a manuscript in the handwriting of Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924), identifying the characters in the novel *Democracy* by Henry Adams.

From George Peabody Gardner, a large collection of papers of the Endicott family.

By purchase: a collection of business papers and letters of Colonel Edward Hutchinson (1678–1752) and his son Edward Hutchinson (1729–?) for the years 1719–1773.

Mr. Richard W. Hale, Jr., then read a paper on "The French Side of the 'Log Cabin Myth,' "[14] illustrated by various construction models which the Recording Secretary and the Corresponding Secretary *pro tem* happily played with during the remainder of the meeting.

After comments from various Members—including Mr. F. W. Grinnell, who inquired what kind of house his disreputable ancestor Billington had lived in—the meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

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[13] For a memoir, see American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, LXVII (1958), 8–11.

[14] Printed in this volume, pp. 118–125.

# Annual Meeting

## *OCTOBER*, 1958

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 9, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 8 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptances of Resident Membership from Bernard Bailyn, of Cambridge, and Malcolm Freiberg, of Belmont.

The President reported the death of Abbot Stevens,[15] a Resident Member since 1952, on May 15, 1958.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Miss Clara W. Crane, of Bridgewater, a manuscript volume containing the journal of Elder William Pratt (1659–1713). Elder Pratt was a member of the small group from Dorchester, Massachusetts, that went to South Carolina in 1695. His journal contains an account of the two voyages he made to South Carolina and of his experiences there before returning to Massachusetts for good in 1701. Bound in with the journal are two extremely rare pamphlets: Henry Newman, *News from the Stars* (Boston, 1691), and [John Holwell], *Holwell's Predictions* (Cambridge, 1690). Miss Crane also gave the Society an early account book kept by Daniel Axtell, of Berkley, and other members of his family from 1700 on.

From Mrs. Richard Cary Curtis, of Cambridge, the Civil War letters of Captain Richard Cary of the Second Massachusetts Regiment, July 11, 1861–August 2, 1862. Captain Cary was killed at the Battle of Cedar Mountain on August 9, 1862.

From Goodspeed's Book Shop, a volume containing original documents on the Lodge-Lowell Debate held in Symphony Hall, Boston, March 19, 1919.

From Bernhard Knollenberg, an account book kept by Jacob Wendell (1691–1761) during the years 1716–1760. Copies of a few letters are contained in the volume.

From Miss Edith R. Leonard, of Plainfield, New Jersey, the diaries of Rev. George Leonard (1801–1881), of Marshfield, from May 26, 1821–May 26, 1881.

From Wendell S. Loomis, of Houston, Texas, a small collection of letters of William D. Jenks dating from 1814 to 1867.

From Clarence W. Mayott, of Hartford, Connecticut, a commission issued to John Larrabee by Governor William Shirley on August 10, 1753, appointing him a lieutenant at Castle William.

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[15] For an obituary, see the *New York Times*, May 17, 1958, p. 19.

From Andrew Oliver, a statement by Joseph Fay, dated December 14, 1793, certifying the southern boundary of the township of Stamford, Vermont.

From Mr. and Mrs. Carl W. Wright, of Hackensack, New Jersey, a letter from Peter Brown to his mother, Mrs. Sarah Brown, dated at Cambridge, June 25, 1775, giving an account of his participation in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

By purchase: a broadside poem, [Eleanor Fitzpatrick Boland], *A Lament for the Church of the Holy Cross, in Franklin Street, Boston* [Boston, 1859], together with the original manuscript and a likeness of the author; a collection of papers of Rev. Noah Worcester relating to the Massachusetts Peace Society, 1815–1869, and a handsome set of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters . . . to His Son* (Boston and Newburyport, 1779). The set belonged to Justice William Cushing and contains his autograph and notes.

From the Estate of Miss Louisa Loring Dresel, of Cambridge, a sketch of Mrs. Louisa Loring by William Page.

From Mrs. Edward Jackson Holmes, of Topsfield, a pastel portrait of Jonathan Jackson (1743–1810), painted by John Singleton Copley.

From Miss Margaret Warren, of Dedham, the ring and pin containing the locks of hair exchanged by John and Abigail Adams with Mercy Warren as a token of their reconciliation.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Chauncey C. Nash, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, submitted the report of the committee, presenting candidates for Officers for the ensuing year. A ballot being taken, the following were elected:

*President*
THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS

*Vice-Presidents*
HENRY LATIMER SEAVER
STEPHEN WHEATLAND

*Recording Secretary*
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

*Corresponding Secretary*
CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS

*Treasurer*
JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

*Cabinet-Keeper*
EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON

*Members-at-Large of the Council*
1958–1961
Paul Herman Buck
Thomas James Wilson

Mr. Paine read the

## *REPORT OF THE TREASURER*

I HEREWITH submit my report to our Society for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958.

This past year has been a very favorable one for the Society financially. During this year the following Funds were added, one of them very substantial:

(1) The Library Fund, which will undoubtedly be discussed in detail in the Council's report. Contributions to this Fund totalled $1,959 at the end of the fiscal year.

(2) The William Crowninshield Endicott Fund of $100,000, given in memory of his father by his son, William C. Endicott, who died in 1936. Since this Fund was received in June of 1958, it produced no income for the fiscal year just ended. This Fund is unrestricted both as to principal and income.

(3) The Mary Endicott Carnegie Fund of $3,000. Principal and income are subject to regulations applying to the Society's Endowment Fund.

(4) The Paine Publication Fund of $7,575. Income is to accumulate until principal and income are expended to publish a volume of *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society which will contain selections from the Paine family papers now in the possession of the Society. At the time the first group of these papers was presented to the Society in 1940, the Society agreed in return to publish such a volume although no funds to finance the expense of editing or publishing were provided. This Fund was established to alleviate this situation, and funds now on hand are nearly sufficient to cover publication costs.

The Endowment Fund was increased by $5,933 to $81,648. While this increase is $3,300 less than the increase for the previous year, the difference is more than accounted for by contributions to the Library Fund and the Paine Publication Fund, both of which were to some extent in competition with it.

Early in the year, Chapter VII of the Society's By-Laws pertaining to the Treasurer and Finance Committee was completely rewritten and became effective November 12, 1957.[16] The By-Laws now tie in

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[16] The change is as follows:

*Article* 1. The Finance Committee shall consist of not less than three or more than more effectively with the practice and requirements of the Society. The Finance Committee and its Chairman are now appointed annually by the President at the November meeting. The following members were named for 1957–1958: John Bryant Paine, Jr., *Chairman*; Thomas Boylston Adams, William Henry Claflin, and Henry Lee Shattuck. Brown, Bacall & Company was again named to audit the Society's books, as it has for the past sixteen years.

A meeting of the Finance Committee was held November 19, 1957, and two more meetings as well as numerous telephone consultations took place during the balance of the fiscal year. Quite a number of changes was made in the Society's investments with two objectives: (1) to reduce the number of these investments to a more manageable

five persons who shall be members of the Society. They shall be appointed by the President each year at the first meeting of the Council following the Annual Meeting, at which time the President shall select one of those appointed to be Chairman. The signatures of any two members of the Finance Committee shall give legal effect to any action the Committee may take. The Finance Committee shall have the supervision of the investments and other financial matters of the Society. The Finance Committee may prescribe the form of the Treasurer's annual account and his books shall be open to inspection at any time by any member of the Committee. It shall determine the amount of the bond, if any, to be given by the Treasurer and the sureties thereon. The Finance Committee shall appoint an auditor, who shall be a certified public accountant, each year after the first meeting following the Annual Meeting. The auditor shall audit the accounts annually as of a time and in the form prescribed by the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee may determine the safe deposit vaults where the Treasurer shall keep the securities of the Society.

*Article* 2. The Treasurer shall receive and collect all moneys due to the Society, and shall have the custody of all its moneys and securities, and shall invest, reinvest, and manage them, under the supervision of the Finance Committee. He shall have the care and custody of the Society's seal. On behalf of the Society he may sign checks and proxies, endorse stock certificates, scrip of rights, and checks, receipts for legacies, and approve probate accounts.

The Treasurer shall keep the securities of the Society in such safe deposit vaults as the Finance Committee may direct. He shall have such clerical aid as shall be approved by the Finance Committee including the services of a bank-agent and/or the appointed auditors. With the approval of the Finance Committee the bank-agent may also act as custodian of the Society's investments. The bank-agent and/or auditors may be engaged to keep the accounts of the Treasurer including making up his annual account in such form as the Finance Committee may direct, and to take care of all ministerial matters, such as collecting dividends and interest, and attending to the execution of purchases and sales of investments, and paying vouchers which have been properly authorized by officers of the Society, and paying salaries which have been approved by the Council, and maintaining the necessary bookkeeping records involved. The cost of such services shall be borne by the Society. All such books shall be open to inspection at any time by any member of the Council or the Finance Committee.

The Treasurer shall submit the annual audited account in writing or in print at the Annual Meeting of the Society. He shall give bond for the faithful discharge of his duties in such amount and with such sureties as the Finance Committee shall require; the cost of such sureties shall be borne by the Society, and such bond shall be kept in the custody of the President.

size; and (2) to increase the Society's income without lowering the quality of its investments and at the same time to reduce somewhat the high proportion of equities. Several small commitments were either eliminated or increased in size. The number of stockholdings was reduced from fifty-four to thirty-nine, although eight new equity investments were added. Income from investments for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1958, increased by $6,299 to $82,160, or approximately 8%, and amounted to 3.3% of the market value of investments on that date.

This increase was achieved during a period when dividends and equity prices, with the exception of public utilities, had definitely tended to decline and when the changes that made the increase possible had been in effect for nine months or less of the twelve months covered. Only a small part of this gain was due to income from the additional Funds already referred to. The Treasurer feels that the Society is much indebted to the other members of the Finance Committee for their able advice and for the time they have given so generously to its affairs.

The numerous changes of investments resulted in a substantial increase of book values as indicated below:

| *Book Value June 30, 1958* | *Book Value June 30, 1957* | *Increase* |
|---|---|---|
| $1,663,041 | $1,199,156 | $463,885 |

A comparison of market values of the Society's investments follows:

| | *June 30, 1958* | *%* | *June 30, 1957* | *%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bonds, including U. S. Treasury Bills . . | $ 790,522 | 31.7 | $ 490,432 | 21.1 |
| Preferred Stocks | | | 29,488 | 1.3 |
| Common Stocks . . . . . | 1,700,903 | 68.2 | 1,734,046 | 74.7 |
| Cash Bank Balance . . . | 2,082 | 0.1 | 66,118 | 2.9 |
| | $2,493,507 | 100.0 | $2,320,084 | 100.0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| | $2,493,507 |
| | -2,320,084 |
| | +$173,423 |
| Deduct new additions to principal | 119,738 |
| Increase of market value | $ 53,685 |

General and administrative expenses for the two years compare as follows:

| | *1958* | *1957* |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $42,439 | $40,592 |
| Administration of funds | 4,329 | 3,973 |
| Meetings and memberships | 1,324 | 1,069 |
| Library | 4,264 | 3,678 |
| Building | 6,190 | 6,320 |
| | $58,546 | $55,632 |

General and administrative expenses increased $2,900, or about 5%. Expenses were affected by the rising trend of costs in general, including changes in staff and raises as of January 1 of this year. Additional expenses and disbursements, not included above, in the amount of $17,438 were charged to the income of specific Funds. Approximately $14,000 of this amount covered the publishing of Volume X of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* and Volume 70 of the Society's *Proceedings*. Our operating deficit has been declining in recent years thanks to the able management of our recent President, John Adams, and his successful efforts in establishing an Endowment Fund. Members who are able to do so are encouraged to make annual contributions to this Fund, the income of which is unrestricted. Thus the unexpended income of the Sibley Fund, to which this deficit has been charged, has been increasing. Although a volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* was published this past year, $1,014 was added to unexpended income of the Sibley Fund at the end of the year, bringing its total to $30,846. However, it should be pointed out that this was made possible because of a non-recurring addition to this year's income of $1,500 transferred from the Fordham University Fund to the income account of the Appleton Fund. It would be most encouraging if the financial affairs of the Society could reach a position where in good years a balance of unrestricted income might be set aside for unusual contingencies and against the possibility of occasional, less favorable conditions in the country's economy.

The figures and comparisons do not reflect the investments and income therefrom of the Adams Papers Editorial and Microfilm Funds. Early in 1958 a contribution of $1,000 was made to the Adams Papers Editorial Fund by Mr. Charles Francis Adams for the purpose of preparing a check list of the books in the Stone Library of the Adams

National Historic Site in Quincy. Details of these Funds and complete details of the Society's financial affairs appear in the auditor's report on file at the Society.

The Director then read the

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THOSE of us intimately concerned with the Society's affairs know only too well the great debt of gratitude owed to our former President, John Adams, and the other officers who ran the Society during the difficult years following World War II. Last year these men decided that they had served their stint and that the time had come to turn the management of the Society over to younger hands. The transition year is now past and the new officers well-established. Good work has been done and projects initiated that we trust will strengthen the Society. It is heartening to note the enthusiasm with which the Council has approached the various problems placed before it. Perhaps this feeling has been best expressed by our Cabinet-Keeper, who confessed that it would take an act of God to keep him from a Council meeting.

On October 10, 1957, the Society voted to increase the number of Resident Members from 125 to 150. At the time President Thomas Boylston Adams said that the new vacancies would not be filled immediately but would be kept in reserve. This policy has been adhered to. Since the Annual Meeting, the Society has elected nine Resident Members and one Corresponding Member in the following order: Resident—George Cheever Shattuck, James Lawrence, Jr., Marion Vernon Brewington, Charles Hopkinson, Maurice Cary Blake, Richard Mott Gummere, Robert Dale Richardson, Bernard Bailyn, Malcolm Freiberg; Corresponding—Andrew Oliver.

In the same period, we lost by death five Members. Stewart Mitchell, a Resident Member since April 14, 1932, whose chief interest was this Society and who served it as Editor, 1929–1939, and Director, 1947–1957, died in Brookline, November 3, 1957; Francis Henry Taylor, elected a Resident Member on January 10, 1957, died in Worcester on November 22, 1957; Roland Gray, a Resident Member since March 10, 1932, died in Cambridge on November 23, 1957; Donald McKay Frost, elected a Resident Member on February 9, 1939, died in Boston on April 14, 1958; and Abbot Stevens, a Resident Member since January 10, 1952, died en route to North Andover on May 15, 1958. At the present time, we have 10 Honorary Members, 3 Associate Members, 50 Corresponding Members, and 126 Resident Members.

The regular meetings have been well attended—an average of thirty Members appearing for each meeting—and the papers read at them stimulating and provocative. Livelier discussions have been generated by these papers than was true in the past, perhaps in some measure because of the President's skillful priming of the pump. The Annual Dinner, at which the Honorable Raymond Sanger Wilkins, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, was the Guest of Honor and Speaker, drew forty Members and one guest.

Earlier in the year, a committee of Members was appointed to represent the Society on a general Boston committee organized to celebrate on January 28, 1958, the centennial of William Hickling Prescott's death. It seemed to us that we could best participate in this celebration by devoting our Spring Reception to an exhibition of books, manuscripts, and prints relating to Prescott. Roger Wolcott kindly allowed us to use the Prescott material he has on deposit in our Library, and Samuel Eliot Morison agreed to write the text for the *Picture Book* on Prescott. It is seldom that any society can furnish from its membership such a happy combination of subject and author. One hundred and eighty-six Members and guests attended the Reception, which turned out to be a happy occasion. If imitation is the sincerest flattery, then the Society has a right to be proud. Harvard University Press has been commissioned by the United States Information Agency to prepare an exhibition on Prescott to be circulated in the Spanish-American countries. We have been asked to participate, and it now appears that the exhibition will be based largely on ours, including a slightly revised version of Mr. Morison's essay.

On July 2, the Colonial Society and this Society gave a reception at 87 Mount Vernon Street to a visiting delegation from Nova Scotia. The delegation was here to present an illuminated scroll to the Governor to mark the bicentenary of the adoption of representative government in Nova Scotia. A judicious pooling of the liquor supplies of both societies helped create an atmosphere that undoubtedly led to a strengthening of the bonds of friendship between Massachusetts and the Maritime Province.

Regular accessions to the Cabinet have been reported at the monthly meetings. In November, the Council voted, at the recommendation of the Cabinet-Keeper, to lend to the Schenectady Museum Association our portrait of Washington Allston by Chester Harding and a Charles Bulfinch drawing. It consented in December to lend to the Smithsonian Institution for display at the International Exhibition at Brussels our Indian Archer weathervane made by Shem Drowne and our well-known portrait of Ann Pollard. As many of you know, Ann Pollard has a face that, unlike Helen's, could easily sink a thousand ships. It would be interesting to have a report on the kind of impression she created at the exhibition. Our weathervane won a certain amount of fame for the Society since a likeness of it appears on the cover of the official catalogue of American Art.

This past year we were fortunate indeed to have Malcolm Freiberg join our staff as Editor of Publications. I have asked him to report later on his activities. The steady increase in the cost of printing our publications is a matter of serious concern to all of us. Yet we do not wish to curtail our output in any way, for much of the solid reputation that the Society enjoys is based on our truly impressive publication record. In particular, we need more funds for printing our *Proceedings*. I am happy to report that, mainly through the efforts of our Treasurer, John Bryant Paine, Jr., various members of the Paine family have donated enough money to finance the printing of the next volume of our *Collections*, which will consist of selections from the papers of Robert Treat Paine. May I state here that this money was raised long after the Society had made a firm commitment to produce such a volume. It would be a tremendous help to us if other families with publishable papers in the Society could be induced to follow this example.

In our unremitting effort to make Harvard University better known, we have published this year Volume X of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, containing a record of the Harvard classes of 1736 through 1740. This series, compiled so brilliantly for us by our Sibley Editor, Clifford K. Shipton, is rapidly becoming our best seller. It has been a source of satisfaction to all of us that Mr. Shipton's work is at last receiving the recognition it deserves outside of the pages of professional journals. Members may wish to read an article on the Sibley-Shipton series by Mrs. Rene Kuhn Bryant entitled "No Son Unsung" in the June, 1958, issue of *American Heritage.*

Turning now to the Library, I am happy to report a busy and profitable year. The Staff took care of approximately 1,350 research workers. In addition to its regular chores, the Staff assisted in the various editorial projects now under way. A large collection of letters from George W. Erving to James Madison, found among our Winthrop Papers, was microfilmed for the Madison Project; our new Jefferson letters were made available on microfilm for the Thomas Jefferson edition; and new Adams letters plus a handsome water color drawing of Abigail Adams' home in Weymouth were supplied to Lyman H. Butterfield, our Adams Papers Editor. At present we are busy preparing our John Marshall holdings for filming for the American Bar Foundation's edition of Marshall's writings. With the co-operation of the Adams Staff, Section 1 of Part IV of the Adams Papers Microfilm was distributed to subscribing libraries. This section contains the incoming correspondence through the year 1800. We sincerely trust that the microfilm edition will be completed in 1959.

Although we increased our stack area considerably ten years ago, the steady flow of manuscripts and books into the building is again presenting us with a space problem. To cope with this problem, the Library Committee, joined by Robert Earle Moody, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, and the Director, held a series of meetings this past winter. The building was thoroughly gone over and our library holdings carefully scrutinized. After much discussion, a plan was drawn up and presented to the Council proposing the establishment of an acquisition policy, a method of weeding existing collections, and the setting up of a Library Fund. The Council has approved these recommendations and they are now being implemented. Under our new policy we shall build to our strength and give up areas in which we are weak. One day, we hope to be the unrivaled center of research for Massachusetts history and printing.

Perhaps only a few of our Members fully realize how tremendously rich this Society is in its holdings of books, manuscripts, paintings, and museum objects. A week or so ago, I took a new Member on a complete tour of the building. His reaction was encouraging, for instead of dwelling unduly on the obvious trouble spots he spoke in amazement of the great treasures we have accumulated. These treasures are steadily increasing in number. Scarcely a month passes without the acquisition of some new piece which we could not possibly buy out of our available funds. But each donor expects, and rightly so, that his gift will receive careful treatment and will be suitably maintained and displayed. One of the objects of the Library Fund recently established by the Council is to do just this. Thus far, no formal appeal has been made to Members for contributions to this Fund; nevertheless certain Members and friends have quietly donated $3,500 to it. We earnestly hope the Fund will be strongly supported by all Members, who, it must be remembered, are responsible for the Society's possessions.

The Library acquired some 1,200[17] printed items during the past year as well as thousands of pieces of manuscripts. Since current acquisitions are reported regularly at the monthly meetings, I shall mention only a few items I consider to be of especial interest. The Journal of Elder William Pratt, presented to the Society by Miss Clara W. Crane, of Bridgewater, certainly falls into this class. It contains an account of the removal to South Carolina in 1695 of a small group of settlers from Dorchester, Massachusetts. It has been printed in *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650–1708,* and is considered to be a basic document for that state's history. The almanac bound in with the Journal, Henry Newman, *News from the Stars* (Boston, 1691) is known in only one other copy, owned by this Society, and contains an advertisement of the second impression of *The New England Primer Enlarged*. No copy of this impression has ever been found. The other item bound in with the Journal, [John Holwell], *Holwell's Predictions* (Cambridge, 1690), is known in only one other copy, owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

We were able to purchase a small collection of Thomas Cushing Papers, which contains some extremely interesting letters written by Deborah Cushing to her husband, Thomas, while he was in Philadelphia in 1774 attending the First Continental Congress as a delegate

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[17] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1957–1958 are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Books | 321 |
| Pamphlets | 178 |
| Periodicals | 649 |
| Broadsides | 54 |
| Newspapers | 14 |
| Maps | 2 |
| *Total* | 1,218 |

from Massachusetts. Her sprightly letters about the goings on in Boston apparently delighted Cushing for he showed them to many of his friends. In a letter to Deborah dated at Philadelphia, October 4, 1774, he said: "I have communicated your several agreeable Letters to the Farmer and his Lady, to Mr. Mifflin and Mr. Thompson and their Ladies and others, they are all extreamly pleased with them and admire them for the patriotic, calm and Undaunted spirit they breath. The Farmer says, if it was customary to chose Women into the Assembly, he should be heartily for having you Speaker of the House."

In January, Rev. Henry Wilder Foote gave the Society an interesting diary kept by a young Harvard tutor, Benjamin Guild (1749–1792), which contains a stirring description of the early days of the Revolution. Guild was not a participant in the Battle of Bunker Hill, but he did record the current stories about the fight. Historians have long placed great reliance on the account of the Battle written by Peter Brown, a young soldier, in a letter to his mother dated at Cambridge, June 25, 1775. This account was first printed in Ezra Stiles's *Literary Diary*. We are greatly pleased to announce the gift of the original letter to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Carl W. Wright, of Hackensack, New Jersey.

Thomas Jefferson Coolidge added to his grandfather's gift of the Thomas Jefferson Papers some 282 new items for the period of 1775–1827. This gift alone would be enough to make our year a successful one. Mr. Coolidge has also placed here on deposit a collection of the papers of his grandfather together with some important letters written by John Lothrop Motley about the Civil War. In going over the new Jefferson items I was struck by the following characterization of Patrick Henry as given by Francis Eppes to Jefferson in his letter of July 3, 1776: "You have herd no doubt before this that Patrick Henry is our Governour, what a strange infatuation attends our Convention, at a time when men of known integrity and sound understanding are most necessary they are rejected and men of shallow understanding fill the most important posts in our country, what but inevitable ruin can be the consequence of this?"

Besides a very valuable collection of autograph letters given to the Society by the Paine family, we acquired by purchase a substantial portion of the papers of Noah Worcester dealing primarily with the

Massachusetts Peace Society. Since we had very little manuscript material on this society, we are delighted to fill in this gap.

The last collection I should like to mention is the Endicott-Carnegie collection, part of which came to us through George Peabody Gardner, the other part coming from Benjamin Ward Thoron and other members of the Thoron family. It consists chiefly of the papers of our late President, William Crowninshield Endicott, his wife, Louise Thoron Endicott, and his sister, Mary Endicott, and extends roughly from 1860 through 1957. Mary Endicott was the third wife of Joseph Chamberlain, the great English statesman, and later the wife of Canon William Hartley Carnegie. Her correspondence with her American relatives is voluminous and should be of great interest to students of Anglo-American relations. Close ties were maintained with the Chamberlain children, and among the papers there are some letters of Neville Chamberlain which are extremely revealing. As a sample I should like to quote part of a letter he wrote while Prime Minister to Louise Thoron Endicott. This letter is dated at 10 Downing Street, April 14, 1940:

> At this moment many people are just waiting to hear that Hitler has struck at Holland, or perhaps at South Eastern Europe as well. I am rash enough to confide to you that I am sceptical about the attack on the Western Front. *It would be too good to be true!* The immediate physical result would be to add to the Allies the 22 divisions of the Belgian Army by no means to be despised, for they are far better equipped and trained than in 1914. And I do not believe that if the Germans could smash their way through they could do it without a shattering loss of men. Moreover it would certainly open up the totalitarian air war, and Hitler has shown himself very shy of that. Why? It [is] not out of gentleness of spirit. He showed that in Poland when he bombed and machine gunned civilians without mercy knowing that they couldn't hit back.
>
> Then what is the reason for his restraint? I believe he knows we should hit back and he fears the result on German morale. That consideration makes it tempting to us to take the initiative and start civilian bombing ourselves. But I can't bring myself to that. If the civilians including women and children are to be brought into the hell pot, the other fellow must start it first.
>
> These are anxious harassing days, yet everyone remains calm and determined. The more the Nazi mentality reveals its hideousness by fresh attacks on harmless neutrals the more resolved we are to finish with them.
>
> And we don't ask the U.S. to come in with us, though we could wish that they would refrain from criticising us, seeing how difficult it is for people so far away to judge of the alternatives open to us.
>
> I am afraid I have inflicted a longer letter upon you than I intended but I am sure you will forgive me.

Only one change in the Staff is to be reported. James R. Leonard, our janitor, died in October, 1957. He was succeeded by Ralph Jordan, who is working out very well indeed. The Society has made good progress this past year, and much of the credit for it is owing to the good work of the Staff, the helpfulness of such volunteer workers as Mrs. Carleton R. Richmond, and the readiness of many of our Members to help when called upon. For this co-operation we are most grateful.

Mr. Freiberg read the

## *REPORT OF THE EDITOR*

WHILE your new Editor of Publications would like to claim the credit for an extraordinarily full publishing year, the fact is that most of the credit belongs to others. *Proceedings*, 70, covering meetings from October, 1950, through May, 1953, and the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, XXXII, Part 2, covering the second part of the legislative year 1755–1756, were prepared for the printer by the previous editorial staff, with your new Editor merely seeing them through the press after some last minute changes. As everyone knows, the latest volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* was the work of the Society's Sibley Editor, Clifford K. Shipton, a colleague whose standards and attainments are discouragingly high. Our Honorary Member, Samuel Eliot Morison, contributed the distinguished Foreword to our Picture Book on William Hickling Prescott. To all of these publications your Editor could add nothing save approbation and, except in the case of Sibley, his supervision of the presswork.

With the assistance of Messrs. Shipton and Whitehill, he managed to produce a style sheet for the use of contributors of manuscripts to the American Antiquarian Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and the Massachusetts Historical Society. It has eased his mind and his tasks greatly. *M. H. S. Miscellany* No. 4, which might well have been entitled—it was not—"Every Man His Own Archivist," was also his work. So were countless meeting notices, as well as redesigning the Society's stationery.

Future efforts should be more uniquely his. Most of *Proceedings*, 71, covering meetings from October, 1953, through May, 1957, is in unfolioed page proof. When it appears (sometime next year, it is hoped), that series will be up-to-date. Index cards for the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, XXXIII, Part 1, covering the first part of the legislative year 1756–1757, are almost complete, although front matter and Introduction are not. This volume will appear, as usual, before June 30 of next year.

The great work still ahead is, of course, the *Winthrop Papers*. Oddly enough, no catalogue of them exists, and constructing one will of necessity be the first step in resuming this project. Typescript for two more volumes exists, but the bigger task of annotating lies ahead. It would be foolish to predict a publication date for them, and your new Editor makes none.

This report would be incomplete without a word of thanks to a long-suffering Committee of Publication, forced this year to read galley after galley of proof. Particular thanks go to the retiring Chairman of that Committee, Arthur M. Schlesinger, for his many kind efforts. They will be long remembered.

Mr. Thomas Boylston Adams then delivered some

## *REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT*

FOR the first time in many years, perhaps in a generation, the Massachusetts Historical Society finds itself really solvent. This is due much to the efforts of Mr. Paine, who has done a remarkable job of investing the funds and bringing up the income return. It is due to the receipt of the Endicott bequests. It is due, above all, to the operation of the Endowment Fund, with its unrestricted income, started some eight years ago by my predecessor in this chair and built up and increased every year by the loyalty and generosity of you gentlemen present and our many other friends who are not able to be here today.

During the difficult recent past the Society never ceased its dedicated effort to make available to students and the world the enormous riches of its collections. Of them you heard more fully when the Director read the Report of the Council. The staff worked hard and loyally, always shorthanded, to continue our self-imposed duty. The great work of publication, which has gone on for more than a hundred and fifty years, was continued and in the past few years increased a little, although funds had to be stretched to do so.

As we stand here now, after this first year of transition, when the management of the Society has been turned over from the older generation to the next, we can look back over a recent past most difficult but yet so successfully concluded that the future prospects of the Society are brighter than for many years. A new Director and a new Editor have been hard at work. A volume of *Proceedings*, a volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, and a volume of *Journals of the House of Representatives* have come out. This year another volume of *Proceedings* will bring us up-to-date. Our Library has begun to receive the attention that long neglect has made absolutely necessary. A few of our Members, highly skilled in their professions, have generously, most generously, given of their time on weekends to sort through our shelves for duplicates and material less essential to our purposes to give room for the essential. Our Members Metcalf, Shipton, Seaver, Hamilton, Moody, and too many others to mention every name, by time given or generous gifts to the Library Fund, have started us forward on our important new work.

This work is just beginning. To advance it as it should be advanced will need all the energies of a larger staff and all the support of the Membership. Mr. Riley tells me that $250,000 are needed to put the Library in good shape, to bind our priceless collection of pamphlets, to repair our books. Another fortune would not be sufficient to more than launch the great duty of publication of now unknown material in our vast and ever-growing collections. We cannot expect to accomplish our goals quickly. Probably we can never accomplish them, because the thirst for knowledge is insatiable, and the archives of this Society have never ceased increasing since its foundation in 1791. But we can speed the work.

This Society from its inception has been a bridge between the world of commerce and the world of the mind. We have never failed to number among our Members prominent historians and men prominent in business life—merchants they used to be called. More than once we have combined the two in one person. This is one of our more important functions. Men come here from both sides of the Charles to civilize and be civilized. Their urbanity is such they do not fail to recognize their need to help each other. And so our meetings seem each year to be better attended and ever more amusing and instructive.

Let me pay brief tribute to the Officers and Members who just a year ago handed to new men the responsibility of office. It is to them that we owe the present solvency of the Society. Had they not begun and built up the Endowment Fund, we would not now be looking forward to a period of increasing usefulness to scholars. Had they not, by active intelligence, enlivened the meetings and renewed the Membership with young and interesting men, the Society might have withered away. And finally, as the phoenix is said to do, they set fire to their nest, consuming themselves utterly so that the new phoenix might rise untroubled from their ashes.

With this thought in mind I shall quote from one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most difficult, poems in the language—Shakespeare's "Phoenix and the Turtle":

> Let the priest in surplice white,
> That defunctive music can,
> Be the death-divining swan.

As far back as I can remember, my father has been anticipating death. So it is fitting now, after the lapse of many years, that he should have consented to read, informally, what he chooses to call "Memories of an Old Man." By the standards of this Society he is not especially old. But since the swan's song is said to be especially agreeable to hear, let us accept it as such.

Mr. John Adams read a paper entitled "Memories of an Old Man."[18]

The Annual Meeting was adjourned at 4:20 P.M.

The Annual Dinner of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, at half-past six in the evening of Thursday, October 9, 1958. The Guest of Honor and Speaker was Arthur Meier Schlesinger, who read a paper entitled "American Contributions to Civilization."[19]

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[18] Printed in this volume, pp. 294–299.

[19] Printed in a condensed version as "America's Influence: Our Ten Contributions to Civilization" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1959, pp. 65–69.

# November Meeting, 1958

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, November 13, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 9 was read and approved.

The President announced the appointment of the following Standing Committees for 1958–1959:

*Finance:* JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., *Chairman*; THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, WILLIAM HENRY CLAFLIN, and HENRY LEE SHATTUCK.

*House:* EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, *Chairman*; JAMES LAWRENCE, JR., BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, and CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

*Library:* LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, *Chairman*; KEYES DEWITT METCALF, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, and CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON.

*Meetings:* WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON, *Chairman*; WILLIAM PHILLIPS, and STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY.

*Membership:* THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, *Chairman*; JOHN ADAMS, HENRY FORBUSH HOWE, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

*Publication:* ROBERT EARLE MOODY, *Chairman*; LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, MALCOLM FREIBERG, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

In accordance with notice duly given, the Society voted to amend the By-Laws in order to increase the limit of Corresponding Membership from fifty to seventy-five Members. Forty-one votes were cast, all in favor.

The Society then elected Mr. Erwin Dain Canham a Resident Member, Mr. James Lawrence, Jr., acting as his Sponsor.

The President announced that an appeal to Members and friends of the Society for contributions would be mailed in the near future.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth H. Andrews, of Cambridge, additions to the Dwight-Howard collection of manuscripts.

From Edward M. Bingham, Jr., of Boston, a small collection of papers of the Baxter-Adams families of Medfield, 1699–1889. Among the papers are many manuscript sermons of Rev. Joseph Baxter (1676–1745), of Medfield, and of Rev. Amos Adams (1728–1775), of Roxbury.

From Mrs. Rollin C. Huggins, of Glen Ellyn, Illinois, a small collection of manuscripts of the Saville-Webb families of Braintree, 1702–1811, and a handsome manuscript exhibiting the penmanship of Samuel Harris of the North School, 1770.

From the Estate of Stewart Mitchell, that portion of his library devoted to American history and biography.

By purchase: the following works by Cotton Mather: *A Companion for Communicants* (Boston, 1690); *Blessed Unions* (Boston, 1692); *Meat Out of the Eater* (Boston, 1703); *Reason Satisfied* (Boston, 1712); and *Vita Brevis* (Boston, 1714); and Increase Mather, *A Dying Legacy* (Boston, 1722).

The afternoon was devoted to a detailed consideration of a subject considered taboo in polite society for the past 130 years—the White murder. The President called attention to the exhibition of material lent by Chief Justice Wilkins. Mr. Charles P. Curtis read a paper entitled "Four Gallant Blackguards," Mr. Claude M. Fuess contributed a "Websterian Addendum,"[20] and Mr. Howland S. Warren, a guest of the Society, read the last letter written by Richard Crowninshield before his suicide.

In the discussion that ensued of Salem happenings, the Chief Justice called attention to the fact that the House of Seven Gables has bought not only Nathaniel Hawthorne's birthplace but his.

The meeting adjourned at 4:05 P.M.

# December Meeting, 1958

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 11, 1958, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 13 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported that $1,092 had been received for the Endowment Fund and $210 for the Library Fund since the last meeting. The Library Fund now stands at $4,270.

The Corresponding Secretary then reported acceptance of election to Resident Membership by Erwin Dain Canham, of Boston.

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[20] Printed in shorter versions in *American Heritage*, June, 1960, pp. 52–54, 101–103, and 55, as "The Young Devils and Dan'l Webster" and "Webster Enters the Case."

The Society then elected Abbott Lowell Cummings, of Boston, sponsored by Mr. Dewing, Myron Piper Gilmore, of Belmont, sponsored by Mr. Elliott Perkins, and Mason Hammond, of Cambridge, sponsored by Mr. Whitney, to Resident Membership; and E. Harold Hugo, of Meriden, Connecticut, sponsored by Mr. Goodspeed, Alfred A. Knopf, of Purchase, New York, sponsored by Mr. Samuel E. Morison, Richard William Leopold, of Evanston, Illinois, sponsored by Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, and Ray Nash, of Hanover, New Hampshire, sponsored by Mr. Wilson, to Corresponding Membership.

The President reported the vote of the Council to hold the annual Spring Reception of the Society in 1959 on Friday, May 22.

The President then called attention to several books, on display in the Dowse Library, which had been given to the Society by friends in memory of the late Mrs. Rudolph Ruzicka.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Francis F. Dunbar, of Manchester, Vermont, and Mrs. L. Phelps Latimer, of Durham, New Hampshire, a copy of a letter written by Michael Metcalf at Plymouth, England, on January 13, 1636, before his voyage to New England. The copy was made by John Metcalf, of Bellingham, on January 1, 1790.

From Mrs. Henry Copley Greene, of Cambridge, three letters from J. W. Clark, of Montreal, Canada, to Gardiner Greene, of Boston, dated February 6 and June 11, 1802, and June 2, 1814.

From Mrs. J. S. Pierce, of Painted Post, New York, a commission issued to Mial Peirce on October 13, 1758, by Governor Thomas Pownall to be Captain of the Third Military Foot Company in the town of Swansea.

From Miss Nathalia Wright, of Knoxville, Tennessee, four letters written by Washington Allston to various correspondents, dated November 7, 1834, November 9, 1836, and February 3 and 13, 1837.

From Mrs. Lovett Sturgis, of New York, New York, the painting *February at Shelbourne, N. H.*, by Dodge MacKnight.

The President then introduced Mr. C. Bruce Fergusson, Provincial Archivist of Nova Scotia, who read a paper entitled "The Role of New Englanders in the Establishment of Representative Government in Canada."[21]

The meeting adjourned at 4:20 P.M.

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[21] Condensed from his *The Origin of Representative Government in Canada* (Halifax, 1958).

# January Meeting, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, January 8, 1959, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of December 11 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported gifts since the last meeting of $2,846.50 to the Endowment Fund and of $725 to the Library Fund.

The Corresponding Secretary reported acceptances of Resident Membership from Messrs. Abbott Lowell Cummings, of Boston, Myron Piper Gilmore, of Belmont, and Mason Hammond, of Cambridge; and of Corresponding Membership from Messrs. E. Harold Hugo, of Meriden, Connecticut, Alfred A. Knopf, of Purchase, New York, Richard William Leopold, of Evanston, Illinois, and Ray Nash, of Hanover, New Hampshire. It was suggested that Mr. Hammond's acceptance should properly have been in Latin.

Howland Shaw Warren, of Nahant, was elected to Resident Membership, James Barr Ames speaking as his Sponsor, and Whitfield Jenks Bell, Jr., of New Haven, Connecticut, was elected to Corresponding Membership, Lyman H. Butterfield speaking as his Sponsor.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Andrew and Peter Oliver, and from Seabury Oliver, of Morristown, New Jersey, a volume containing some very important manuscripts by or relating to William Pynchon and his controversy with the Church of Windsor, Connecticut, in 1640; a traveling set of silver knives, forks, and spoons bearing the initials of Mary Browne (1674–1753); and a watch owned by Hon. Benjamin Lynde, Jr. (1721–1780).

From Miss Helen D. Paine, of Hartford, Connecticut, a cane made from wood from the Washington Elm and presented to Thomas Proctor in July, 1860.

From Dr. Frank T. Siebert, of Bellows Falls, Vermont, a small collection of manuscripts relating to Oliver Partridge (1712–1792) and lands in western Massachusetts, 1753–1834.

Mr. Peter Oliver then read a paper entitled "A Little Bibliographical History and an Account of a Search in Some European Libraries for First Editions of the Latin Classics."

In the discussion that followed Mr. Oliver's paper, Dr. Henry R. Viets recalled an occasion when he was shown through the Vatican Library in 1935 in the company of Dr. Arnold Klebs and Dr. Harvey Cushing by Cardinal Pacelli, later Pope Pius XII. Cardinal Pacelli was enthusiastically pointing out various objects of interest as the group walked through the Library. Dr. Cushing was at this time a little lame and, as he became tired, lagged behind the group. The Cardinal noted this without turning his head and thereupon opened a door leading into an office where the group in the most natural way sat down and gave Dr. Cushing a chance to rest before resuming the tour. The memory of the extreme kindness and of the generosity and grace of the Cardinal's behavior, which made Dr. Cushing comfortable without appearing to take notice of his difficulties, has remained with Dr. Viets ever since.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# February Meeting, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 12, 1959, Vice-President Wheatland in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of January 8 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported the receipt of $400 for the Endowment Fund since the last meeting, $3,246 having been received since the December appeal. The Endowment Fund, including the related name funds, now stands at a total of $97,330. In the past month for the Library Fund $578 have been received, which is included in the $1,303 received since the December appeal. The total of the Library Fund now stands at $5,333.

The Corresponding Secretary reported acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Howland Shaw Warren, of Nahant, and to Corresponding Membership from Whitfield Jenks Bell, Jr., of New Haven, Connecticut.

Frank Burt Freidel, Jr., of Belmont, and Alden Porter Johnson, of Worcester, were elected to Resident Membership, Messrs. Gilmore and Shipton speaking as Sponsors, respectively. George Lee Haskins, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was then elected to Corresponding Membership, Mr. Curtis speaking as Sponsor.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Miss Clara W. Crane, of Bridgewater, a letter from Samuel Adams to Dr. Samuel Shaw, dated at Boston, September 24, 1785; a manuscript containing a list of the state, county, town, and minister's taxes in East Bridgewater, January, 1778; and valuation bills, etc., for Bridgewater inhabitants from 1745 through 1766.

From Mrs. Nathan Hayward, of Wayne, Pennsylvania, several letters between Judge Thomas Dawes (1757–1825) and his wife, Margaret Greenleaf Dawes.

From Mrs. William C. Koch, of Cambridge, a small collection of printed and manuscript material relating to James A. Woolson, 1890–1899.

Arthur Burr Darling then read a paper entitled "Prior to Little Rock in American Education: The *Roberts* Case of 1849–1850."[22]

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# March Meeting, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 12, 1959, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 12 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported on recent gifts to the Society.

The Cabinet-Keeper (on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary) reported that acceptances of election to Resident Membership had been received from Messrs. Frank B. Freidel, Jr., and Alden P. Johnson, and to Corresponding Membership from Mr. George L. Haskins.

The President reported the death of Peter Oliver,[23] a Corresponding Member since January 8, 1953, that had occurred on February 17, 1959.

The President then called attention to the handsome array of periodicals that had recently been bound in consequence of the new Library Fund.

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[22] Printed in this volume, pp. 126–142.

[23] A memoir is scheduled for a future volume in this series.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From the American Antiquarian Society, various issues of the [Boston] *Polar Star* for 1796–1797.

From James Gore King, Eleanor K. Ames, Cornelia K. Marsh, John Erving Cooper, and Erving Pruyn, the commission of Governor William Shirley, dated May 6, 1741, and a letter from Governor Shirley to the chiefs of the Six Nations, dated at Boston, July 21, 1746.

From Mrs. J. C. Sherer, of Glendale, California, a typewritten manuscript containing an account of the Old South Historical Society of Boston.

From Mrs. Frederick Tudor, of Boston, three commissions appointing William Tudor Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America near His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, dated June 6 and December 27, 1827, and March 29, 1828. The commissions are signed by John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. Also, a contemporary copy of a letter from John Adams to Tudor dated at Quincy, March 27, 1823, and several printed pamphlets.

On deposit: from Philip Putnam Chase, additions to the William Eustis Russell papers, including thirteen letters written by Grover Cleveland to Russell, dating from November 29, 1889, through July 31, 1893; and diary notes of George Fred Williams for September 3–11, 1895, to be added to the George Fred Williams papers.

Mr. Curtis P. Nettels of Cornell University, a Corresponding Member, then read a paper entitled "The Origins of the Union and of the States."[24] Despite a severe blizzard it was fortunate that Mr. Nettels had been able to turn up at the appointed time and unfortunate that he had so diminutive an audience. Fourteen Resident Members, in addition to the speaker, made their way to the building.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# April Meeting, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 9, 1959, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of March 12 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported gifts of $1,344 to the Endowment Fund and of $52 to the Library Fund since the last meeting. The Endowment Fund and the three related name funds now stand at $98,622.

[24] Printed in this volume, pp. 68–83.

Paul Abraham Freund, of Cambridge, sponsored by Mark DeW. Howe, and George Kirkpatrick Whitney, of Concord, sponsored by President Adams, were elected to Resident Membership, and Merle Eugene Curti, of Madison, Wisconsin, sponsored by Bernard Bailyn, and Lawrence Henry Gipson, of Rydal, Pennsylvania, sponsored by Edward P. Hamilton, were elected to Corresponding Membership.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Thomas Boylston Adams, a number of printed volumes from the library of Charles Francis Adams (1835–1915).

From Mark Bortman, a small collection of manuscripts of Manasseh Cutler (1742–1823) and various members of his family, 1712–1886.

From Colonel Jonathan H. Harwood, of East Greenwich, Rhode Island, a letter from Ezra Green to Bernard Green dated at Malden, August 24, 1825, about the laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument.

From the Minnesota Historical Society, a number of interesting photographs of nineteenth-century Boston.

From Stanley Brampton Parker, of Cambridge, a letter from John Quincy Adams to Mr. Tilly Whitcomb dated at Amsterdam, January 27, 1795.

Mr. Frederick S. Allis, Jr., then read a paper entitled "The Handling of Controversial Material in High School Textbooks in American History."[25]

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# May Meeting, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 14, 1959, President Adams in the chair.

The usual order of business was altered to enable the speaker to make an out-of-town speaking engagement, whereupon Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., read a paper entitled "Anglo-American Relations before the Second World War."[26]

The Treasurer reported informally and asked that the following motion be approved: "That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury to be expended for such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society." It was so voted.

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[25] Printed in this volume, pp. 323–350.

[26] To appear in a future volume of *The Age of Roosevelt.*

Dr. H. F. Howe, on behalf of the Corresponding Secretary, reported acceptances of election as Resident Members from Paul Abraham Freund, of Cambridge, and George Kirkpatrick Whitney, of Concord, and of election as Corresponding Members from Merle Eugene Curti, of Madison, Wisconsin, and Lawrence Henry Gipson, of Rydal, Pennsylvania.

The President announced the death, on May 9, 1959, of Edward Motley Pickman,[27] elected a Resident Member on November 10, 1927.

The President then announced the appointment of the following Nominating Committee: HENRY FORBUSH HOWE, *Chairman*; LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, BENJAMIN JOY, and JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., to prepare a ballot for the Annual Meeting in October.

Frederick Josiah Bradlee, of Beverly, sponsored by William B. Osgood, and John Otis Brew, of Cambridge, sponsored by Charles D. Childs, were elected to Resident Membership, and Francis Lewis Berkeley, of Charlottesville, Virginia, sponsored by Malcolm Freiberg, and Philip May Hamer, of Bethesda, Maryland, sponsored by L. H. Butterfield, were elected to Corresponding Membership.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Maurice Cary Blake, 130 letters written by various correspondents to Joseph Story (1779–1845) during the years 1811–1845.

From the Estate of Ellerton James, twenty-nine letters from Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924) to Ellerton James dating from August 28, 1911, to January 9, 1924.

From Samuel Eliot Morison, a fragment of a letter from Harrison Gray Otis to George Harrison dated February 26, 1829, about the prosecution of Theodore Lyman, Jr., by Daniel Webster for libel.

From Dr. Marcellus Reeves, of Boston, a number of items, including the print *The Life and Age of Woman* (Barre, Mass.: A. Alden, n.d.).

From Senator Leverett Saltonstall; his mother, Mrs. Richard Saltonstall; his brother, Richard Saltonstall; and his sister, Mrs. George Lewis, the Saltonstall papers, 1856–1936. The earlier Saltonstall papers, 1592–1855, were given to the Society by the above donors in 1948.

President Adams spoke informally of hopes and plans for rearranging the interior space of the Society's building to increase its usefulness and attractiveness for readers and staff. He mentioned specifically the proposed conversion of the museum room (Ellis Hall) into a library reading room.

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[27] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 364–370.

The meeting adjourned at 4:40 P.M.

# Annual Meeting

## *OCTOBER*, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 8, 1959, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 14 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptances of Resident Membership from Frederick Josiah Bradlee, of Beverly, and John Otis Brew, of Cambridge, and of acceptances of Corresponding Membership from Francis Lewis Berkeley, of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Philip May Hamer, of Bethesda, Maryland.

Rudolph Ruzicka, of Boston, was then elected a Resident Member, L. H. Butterfield speaking as his Sponsor, and Raymond Phineas Stearns, of Urbana, Illinois, was elected a Corresponding Member, Clifford K. Shipton speaking as his Sponsor.

The President announced the deaths of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge,[28] elected a Resident Member on January 13, 1938, who died on August 6, 1959; of Horace Henry Morse,[29] elected a Resident Member on March 9, 1933, who died on June 17, 1959; and of William Davis Miller,[30] elected a Corresponding Member on December 14, 1939, who resigned on account of ill health on November 12, 1956, and died on July 7, 1959.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Mr. and Mrs. George L. Aspinwall, of Chestnut Hill, a large collection of papers of the Emerson family, particularly those of the educator, George Barrell Emerson (1797–1881), and his father, Samuel Emerson (A.B., Harvard College, 1785), who practiced medicine for many years in what is now Kennebunk, Maine.

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[28] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 373–378.

[29] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 371–372.

[30] For a memoir, see Am. Antiq. Soc., *Procs.*, LXIX (1959), 70–71.

From Edward M. Bingham, Jr., of Boston, a collection of manuscript sermons of Amos Adams (1728–1775) and of Joseph Baxter (1676–1745). These are to be added to his earlier gift of Baxter-Adams papers.

From Maurice Cary Blake, forty-two letters written by various correspondents to Justice Joseph Story, 1811–1845.

From the Misses Anita L. and Gertrude Conte, of Colorado Springs, Colorado, an album containing printed and manuscript materials relating to the pioneer work with Italian immigrants in Boston's North End carried on by Rev. Gaetano Conte during the years 1893–1903; also some pamphlets on Italian immigration.

From Charles Pelham Curtis, a typewritten copy of Nicholas Roosevelt's account of the Chicago Convention of 1912. This account is not to be published without the consent of Nicholas Roosevelt.

From John D. Cushing, of Sturbridge, six manuscripts written by various members of the Cushing family, 1817–1818.

From Mrs. Thomas Goddard Frothingham, of Boston, a collection of papers of the historian Richard Frothingham (1812–1880) for the period 1685–1895. The collection includes his journal, January 1, 1834–June 26, 1848, extra-illustrated copies of some of his historical works, and a number of rare broadsides.

From Joseph Murdoch, of Santa Monica, California, three volumes of manuscripts of William Smith, including his log of the ship *Mary* on a voyage from Boston towards Calcutta, January 3–April 4, 1818, account sales, etc., 1812–1817, and a letter book, February 13–May 31, 1812. Scattered through two of the volumes are some very interesting drawings of ships.

From William Stanley Parker, of Boston, a letter book of General Benjamin Lincoln (1733–1810), July 22, 1778–August 2, 1779, containing material relating chiefly to the Southern Campaign, with a few earlier entries, August 13–30, 1776, relating to military matters in the Boston area, and a handsome copy of John Locke, *Letters concerning Toleration* (London, 1765), bearing a presentation inscription from Thomas Hollis to James Otis, Jr., and containing the autograph of Otis on the title page.

From Henry Savage, Jr., of Camden, South Carolina, additions to the Samuel Phillips Savage papers for 1718–1848, a fine copy of [Daniel Davis], *Address to the Inhabitants of the District of Maine* (Portland, 1791), and a very rare broadside *Glorious Intelligence! Boston, (Tuesday Morning) April 1, 1783. By a Gentleman immediately from the Southward, we are favor'd with the principal Articles of the Preliminaries of Peace, of the 20th of January, 1783* [Boston, 1783].

From Mrs. Carl S. Stillman, of Wellesley, Kit-cat portraits painted on wood of Jacob Sebor and Elizabeth Winthrop Sebor (1766–1847).

From Mrs. George Putnam Sturgis, of Brookline, a small collection of manuscript and printed materials relating to the French spoliation claims of the heirs of Andrew C. Dorr, of Boston.

From George Richmond Walker, of Concord, a collection of speeches of Joseph Walker (1865–1941), 1907–1913; two scrapbooks, 1912–1933;

correspondence of Walker with William Howard Taft, 1910–1915, and with Theodore Roosevelt, 1910–1915. Joseph Walker was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1909–1911.

From the Estate of Henry Rogers Winthrop, of Sarasota, Florida, his collection of framed portraits of the Winthrop family. The collection contains the portrait of the eldest son of the eldest son, with Mr. Henry Rogers Winthrop being the twelfth and last, together with some of their wives.

By purchase: 128 letters addressed to Justice Joseph Story, 1811–1845; a collection of manuscripts of the Hutchinson-Oliver-Watson family, 1766–1842; and two rare broadsides, *Joyful Tidings of Peace. Gazette-Office, Portland, Tuesday Morning, Feb. 14, 1815* [Portland, 1815] and George Washington, *A Circular Letter . . . Addressed to the Governors of the several States, on his resigning the Command of the Army, and retiring from public Business* [London, n.d.].

At this point without formal announcement the stated meeting was metamorphosed into the Annual Meeting, the adjournment of the former and the calling to order of the latter being sensibly taken for granted.

Dr. H. F. Howe, on behalf of the Nominating Committee, presented the following nominations for Officers for the ensuing year:

*President*
THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS

*Vice-Presidents*
HENRY LATIMER SEAVER
STEPHEN WHEATLAND

*Recording Secretary*
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

*Corresponding Secretary*
JAMES BARR AMES

*Treasurer*
JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

*Cabinet-Keeper*
EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON

*Members-at-Large of the Council*
1959–1960
MAURICE CARY BLAKE

1959–1962
CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON
HOWLAND SHAW WARREN

Dr. Howe pointed out that Mr. Blake had been nominated to serve the unexpired term of William Henry Harrison, who had resigned that position.

It was voted to request the Recording Secretary to cast one vote for the slate. Although President Adams remarked that one let go, not cast, an anchor, the Recording Secretary cast, rather than let go, or let flee, a vote, and the Officers nominated were declared elected.

Mr. Paine read the

## *REPORT OF THE TREASURER*

I HEREWITH submit my report to our Society for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959.

Financially this past year has been another favorable one for the Society. In addition to many contributions to the Endowment Fund and the Library Fund and to several contributions to other existing Funds, a most encouraging initial gift was made towards financing our contemplated building renovations, plans for which are now being studied.

The Endowment Fund was increased by $5,201 to $86,849. Donations to the Library Fund totaled $4,067. After expenditures of $2,294 on a number of necessary projects during the year, this Fund now totals $3,732. The Bortman Fund was increased by $1,000 and the Paine Publication Fund by $555. In addition, there was a gift of $772 to pay for some much-needed Dictaphone equipment. But perhaps most important were gifts totaling $3,217 to help pay for contemplated building renovations. These gifts were added to the accumulated income of the Norcross Fund, I, where they will be available for this purpose when needed. Members and friends of the Society have indeed been very generous in responding to our President's several appeals.

The same Finance Committee was reappointed in October, 1958, to serve for 1958–1959: John Bryant Paine, Jr., *Chairman*; Thomas Boylston Adams, William Henry Claflin, and Henry Lee Shattuck. Brown, Bacall & Company was again named to audit the Society's books, as it has for the past seventeen years.

Members of the Finance Committee received quarterly appraisals of the Society's investments and held a meeting in March as well as several telephone consultations. Two equity investments were eliminated and two new ones added. Several minor additions or reductions were made to the remaining equity holdings, which still number thirty-nine and comprised approximately 69% of the Society's investments. Largely as a result of investment changes made over the past two years, income from investments, which for 1957–1958 increased 8%, showed an additional increase of 15% ($12,254) in 1958–1959, or a total increase of 24.5% for the two-year period. During this period, annual income increased $18,553 from $75,861 to $94,414, which amounted to 3.3% of the market value of investments on June 30, 1959. Again the Treasurer feels that a debt of gratitude is owed by the Society to the other members of the Finance Committee for their able advice and for the time they have given so generously to its affairs.

Additional changes of investments resulted in a further increase of book values as indicated below:

| *Book Value*<br>*June 30, 1959* | *Book Value*<br>*June 30, 1958* | *Increase* |
|---|---|---|
| $1,858,469 | $1,663,041 | $195,428 |

A comparison of market values of the Society's investments follows:

| | *June 30, 1959* | *%* | *June 30, 1958* | *%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bonds, including U. S. Treasury Bills . . . | $ 873,975 | 30.4 | $ 790,522 | 31.7 |
| Common Stocks . . . . . | 1,994,670 | 69.3 | 1,700,903 | 68.2 |
| Cash Bank Balance . . . | 8,953 | 0.3 | 2,383 | 0.1 |
| | $2,877,598 | 100.0 | $2,493,808 | 100.0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| | $2,877,598 |
| | -2,493,808 |
| | +$383,790 |
| Deduct new additions to principal | 11,655 |
| Increase of market value | $ 372,135 |

General and administrative expenses for the two years compare as follows:

| | *1959* | *1958* |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $42,268 | $42,439 |
| Administration of funds | 5,068 | 4,329 |
| Meetings and membership | 1,141 | 1,324 |
| Library | 7,737 | 4,264 |
| Building | 6,664 | 6,190 |
| | $62,878 | $58,546 |

General and administrative expenses increased $4,332, or about 7.4%. Of this increase, $3,471 was in the library department, to which $1,962 of the cost of the *Picture Book* was charged instead of to specific publication Funds, and $739 in the administration of Funds. That salaries showed a minor reduction was due to the fact that not only was personnel temporarily reduced, but also because a substantial increase from salary raises and the cost of putting into effect in June Blue Cross-Blue Shield P. I. C. coverage and a retirement plan retroactive to March 1, 1959, were largely not reflected in expenses prior to the ending of our fiscal year on June 30. Of annual salary raises totaling approximately $2,980, $1,980 first went into effect on March 1, 1959, or for only one-third of the fiscal year. As a result of these new expenses, total salary costs are currently running at an annual rate approximately $5,500 more than the $42,268 reported.

Additional expenses and disbursements, not included above, in the amount of $5,577 were charged to the income of specific Funds. Of this amount $3,505 covered the cost of publishing a volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, of which amount $2,250 was refunded by the Commonwealth in payment for 300 copies. Since no volume of the Society's *Proceedings* and no volume of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* were published this past year, our operating deficit, which for some years has been charged to the Sibley Fund, amounted to only $1,060, while the unexpended income of this Fund was increased by $13,553 to $44,400, $2,500 of this being earmarked for publication of the next volume of Sibley lives.

At the April meeting of the Council it was voted to set aside an amount equivalent to 10% of all full-time employees' salaries starting March 1, 1959, and to draw up and put into effect a suitable retirement plan. A committee was appointed consisting of JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., *Chairman*; JAMES BARR AMES, and PAUL HERMAN BUCK to present at the May meeting a retirement plan and to investigate the cost of subscribing to Blue Cross-Blue Shield coverage for all of our permanent employees. The Members of the Society are indebted to Messrs. Ames and Buck, who have had experience with similar problems and who rendered invaluable advice and did a large part of the work in making the recommendations adopted by the Council at its May meeting. Under the plan adopted, the Society contributes a monthly amount equal to 10% of the regular monthly compensation of participants eligible in accordance with certain specifications and will apply such sum, together with any additional amounts contributed by such employee, to the purchase of retirement benefits for the participant through the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association as a premium for a retirement annuity contract on the participant's life, or partly, in accordance with optional provisions, through the College Retirement Equities Fund, as a premium for an Equities Fund annuity certificate on the participant's life.

The Council further voted to assume the cost and to subscribe to the Blue Cross-Blue Shield P. I. C. combination group benefits for individuals for each of its full-time employees. Recent improvement in the financial affairs of the Society has made it possible to bring the compensation of our employees in line with what is done by other institutions with personnel staffs somewhat similar to our own. Meanwhile, we have put on a little more fat should there come a lean period in our country's economy.

These figures and comparisons do not reflect the investments and income therefrom of the Adams Papers Editorial and Microfilm Funds. Details of these Funds and complete details of the Society's financial affairs appear in the auditor's report on file at the Society.

The Director then read the

## *REPORT OF THE COUNCIL*

FOR such a venerable institution as this, the Council shows a remarkable youthfulness in tackling the many problems brought before it. This past year has been no exception, for some of the more difficult issues that troubled us have been faced and, we trust, satisfactorily resolved.

As you know, the size of the Society's membership was the subject of fierce debate in earlier years. Two years ago the Society voted to increase the number of Resident Members from 125 to 150. One year later, on October 9, 1958, the Council recommended to the Society that the number of Corresponding Members be enlarged from 50 to 75 in line with the increase in Resident Membership. The Society voted unanimously to approve this recommendation at its meeting on November 13, 1958—a decision that undoubtedly caused a slight tremor in Mount Auburn. The openings created by these increases are being filled slowly and carefully. Since the last Annual Meeting the Society has elected twelve Resident Members and eleven Corresponding Members in the following order: Resident—Erwin Dain Canham, Abbott Lowell Cummings, Myron Piper Gilmore, Mason Hammond, Howland Shaw Warren, Frank Burt Freidel, Jr., Alden Porter Johnson, Paul Abraham Freund, George Kirkpatrick Whitney, Frederick Josiah Bradlee, John Otis Brew, Rudolph Ruzicka; Corresponding—Everett Harold Hugo, Alfred A. Knopf, Richard William Leopold, Ray Nash, Whitfield Jenks Bell, Jr., George Lee Haskins, Merle Eugene Curti, Lawrence Henry Gipson, Francis Lewis Berkeley, Philip May Hamer, Raymond Phineas Stearns.

While these new names indicate a steady broadening and strengthening of the membership, it is sad to report the death of five of our older Members who did so much for the Society through the years. Peter Oliver, elected a Corresponding Member on January 8, 1953, died in Boston on February 16, 1959; Edward Motley Pickman, a Resident Member since November 10, 1927, died in Bedford on May 9, 1959; Horace Henry Morse, elected a Resident Member on March 9, 1933, died in East Northfield on June 17, 1959; and Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, a Resident Member since January 13, 1938, died in Beverly on August 6, 1959. William Davis Miller, a Corresponding Member since December 14, 1939, who resigned on November 12, 1956, because of ill health, died on July 7, 1959. Including the Members elected today, we now have 10 Honorary Members, 3 Associate Members, 60 Corresponding Members, and 135 Resident Members.

Except for the March meeting, when a courageous few contended with a severe blizzard to hear Curtis P. Nettels, the meetings have been well attended—an average of thirty-three appearing at each meeting. The high point was reached in November, when forty-two Members and two guests came to hear Charles Pelham Curtis and

Claude Moore Fuess tickle the fancy of their audience with an account of the White murder case. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, Emeritus, Harvard University, was the Guest of Honor at the Annual Dinner and spoke on "American Contributions to Civilization." The dinner was attended by fifty-two Members and two guests.

It has been obvious to us for some time that many of our Members and friends knew very little about the history of the Society, its collections, aims, and needs. The Council decided to rectify this situation by devoting the Spring Reception to an exhibition of some of the treasures of the Society and by issuing a *Picture Book* which would tell briefly what we are and what we are trying to do. Many hands helped in preparing the exhibition and *Picture Book*, and the results have been most satisfactory, so much so that with the kind co-operation of Harvard University and the efforts of Malcolm Freiberg and Robert H. Haynes, a slightly different version of the exhibition was put on in Widener Library during the months of July, August, and September, 1959. Harvard added to the exhibition some of its own key pieces on the Society, particularly a letter from Justin Winsor to President Charles Eliot dated March 17, 1893, in which he unsuccessfully urged that the Society be invited to build for its own occupancy a building in the Harvard Yard. In his letter Winsor pointed out the advantage to the college of "an affiliation with the oldest, richest and best known historical society in the country, whose record as a publishing society is not equalled by any historical society in the world." Reading this statement in the light of present-day conditions, I suggest that the word "richest" be deleted.

Indeed, the financial future of such independent historical societies as ours has become a matter of increasing concern to those who have to run them. About two years ago representatives of the American Antiquarian Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Virginia Historical Society, and this Society met to discuss common problems. It was decided to appeal to the Council on Library Resources, Inc., for a grant to support a study of the research and publication functions of the independent historical societies and their economic future. It is encouraging to report that the grant was made this past year, and Walter Muir Whitehill, our Recording Secretary, selected to direct the study.

Requests for loans of materials from our Cabinet and Library have been many, and the Council has been happy to approve them. The Museum of Fine Arts borrowed several of our portraits for its Samuel Sewall show, as well as the original Sewall diary; the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts borrowed the Prescott crossed swords for the ceremonies at the unveiling of the Prescott portrait plaque at their headquarters; and several Jefferson architectural drawings went to the University of Virginia for a Jefferson exhibition. Our Indian archer weather vane and portrait of Anne Pollard returned safely from the Brussels Universal and International Exhibition.

In addition to caring for the needs of some 1,700 visitors, the Staff busied itself with many new tasks. Thanks to the setting up of the Library Fund we were able to bind 600 volumes of historical periodicals. We made a beginning in weeding out certain categories of books not in our collecting field and have started to discard certain unbound newspapers that were printed during the wood pulp period. In the latter case we have made certain that files of the newspapers or microfilms of them are available in the Boston area. The filming of the Adams Papers will be concluded within a month and the final section distributed by the end of the year, thus bringing to a close one of our major undertakings. We are making plans to film our Henry Knox papers, and a good start has been made toward preparing the papers for the camera. Our holdings of literary manuscripts have been reported for the check list of American literary manuscripts being issued by the Modern Language Association, and a list of our major manuscript collections issued in our *M. H. S. Miscellany* No. 5 for December, 1958. We are eager to help in all bibliographical enterprises and have agreed to report our manuscript holdings for the new Library of Congress Union List of Manuscripts. Those Members wishing to have an informed opinion of the contribution made by this Society to historical scholarship through its collecting and preserving of documentary sources would do well to read an article by T. R. Schellenberg, "The Future of the Archival Profession," in *The American Archivist* for January, 1959.

The publication program is proceeding extremely well, and Malcolm Freiberg, the Society's Editor, will report on it. Lyman H. Butterfield is making excellent progress in editing the Adams Papers, although he must feel at times that the labors assigned to Hercules were child's play compared with his. Indeed, the manifold activities going on in this building have stretched the working day of some of the Staff to a point completely inconsistent with the best trade-union practices. The Council has done its best to improve working conditions and has this past year installed a retirement system and a health benefit program for the Society's Staff.

There were several changes in the Staff this past year. Alexander McElwain, who had done much useful work in putting our manuscripts in order, and Miss Renée Mary, our fine secretary, left our employment for other work. Miss Mary has been replaced by Miss Charlotte J. Bustin.

The accessions to the Library have been numerous and important,[31] both in printed and manuscript materials. Seven rare Mather items have been added to our printed Mather collection, a feat that will become increasingly difficult to duplicate, since we seldom are offered a Mather item we do not already have. Among the many fine broadsides acquired there is a proclamation issued *By His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq; . . . A Brief* (Boston, 1768) urging the people of Massachusetts to assist those who suffered from the Montreal fire of April 11, 1768; a variant issue of William Johnson's *Camp at Lake George, Sept. 9, 1755* [n.p., 1755]; an account in verse by Silas Ballou of the War of 1812, entitled *A New Song on the Causes—Beginning, Events—End & Consequence of the Late War with Great Britain* (Boston, n.d.); and a handsome copy of George Washington, *A Circular Letter . . . Addressed to the Governors of the several States, on his resigning the Command of the Army, and retiring from public Business* [London, n.d.]. This last broadside contains an engraved portrait of Washington and is an exceptionally rare item.

The printed acquisition with the nicest association value is John Locke, *Letters concerning Toleration* (London, 1765), edited by Thomas Hollis (1720–1774) and presented by him to James Otis, Jr., with the

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[31] Complete figures for accessions during the year 1958–1959 are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Books | 326 |
| Pamphlets | 177 |
| Periodicals | 657 |
| Broadsides | 56 |
| Newspapers | 73 |
| Maps | 4 |
| *Total* | 1,293 |

following inscription on its flyleaf: "To an Assertor of Liberty, civil and religious, James Otis Esq. of Boston, in New England, An Englishman, Citizen of the World." James Otis' signature is on the title page. Some years later John Adams was to characterize Otis somewhat differently, applying to him the lines:

> He spares nor Friend nor Foe, but calls to Mind
> like Domesday, all the faults of all Mankind.

Our manuscript additions extend in time from the period of settlement down to almost yesterday. Touching on almost every aspect of American life, they present both an invitation and a challenge to the serious student of our past. New materials on the early history of Springfield and the Connecticut River towns, medical and missionary activity in Maine, General Benjamin Lincoln's conduct of the war in the South, Oliver Partridge, the Hutchinson family, Manasseh Cutler and western lands, Justice Joseph Story, early western travel, social and political life of early nineteenth-century Boston, the Saltonstall family, the Bull Moose Party, Henry Cabot Lodge, and other subjects have been processed and are now available.

As this century moves along, we are receiving more and more requests for material dealing with the post-Civil War period and the early twentieth century. We respectfully urge that all of you Members who know of important collections of historical papers for this period do your best to have such papers come to the Society. By doing so you will be following an honored tradition that has helped make this Society pre-eminent in its chosen field. Recently Mr. Henry Savage of Camden, South Carolina, presented the Society with some additional papers of Samuel Phillips Savage (1718–1797), President of the Massachusetts Board of War during the American Revolution. In the collection is a very rare broadside entitled *Glorious Intelligence! Boston, (Tuesday Morning) April 1, 1783. By a Gentleman immediately from the Southward, we are favor'd with the principal Articles of the Preliminaries of Peace, of the 20th of January, 1783* [Boston, 1783]. On the verso of the broadside is this note in S. P. Savage's handwriting which reveals a characteristic New England tendency to preserve for the future the records of the past:

> This is kept for future Generations, tho it cannot by any means convey to them, the Joy so happy an Event gave us, who heard the first Guns fired, at

Lexington and Concord, and saw Charlstown in Flames, and who have endured and supported a Struggle of near 20 years and an actual, cruel and bloody War, from 19 April 1775 until the arrival of a French Cutter called the *Triumph*, commanded by the Chevalier Duquesne on the 25 March 1783 at Chester in the River Delawar from Cadiz—for which happy Event may America be *properly* thank full—

Since 1945 many improvements have been made in this building. Perhaps only a few here today remember the dark, dismal, and dirty interior of twenty-five years ago. Yet much still remains to be done. We need a larger reading room, better exhibition space, and better facilities for Members and visitors. A Committee on the Museum, headed by Edward Pierce Hamilton, the Cabinet-Keeper, met several times during the year to examine the Museum and evaluate its place in the Society's present setup. In a report submitted to the Council the Committee recommended that the Museum be discontinued as a separate entity occupying a room by itself. It favored, however, the retention for the present of all articles in the Museum and a policy of rotating exhibitions. These recommendations were adopted by the Council and the way thus cleared for planning a rearrangement of the interior space of the building. Architectural plans incorporating these changes are now being drawn at the request of the Council, and the President will discuss them with you later. It is our earnest hope that these necessary alterations can be effected, for in no better way can we demonstrate that we are a going concern, ready and able to increase our services to scholarship and preserve the great treasures entrusted to our care.

Mr. Freiberg then read the

## *REPORT OF THE EDITOR*

IT is tempting the Fates to say so, but this has been a good publishing year for the Society.

In time for Christmas distribution to friends and Members, as well as at the Washington meetings of the American Historical Association last December, appeared our *M. H. S. Miscellany* No. 5, which briefly listed our MSS in fifteen pages of small type. We still receive requests for it, as we do also for our 1959 *Picture Book*, which appeared in May for presentation at our annual Spring Reception and whose text was the Director's account of the Society from 1791 to 1959. This *Picture Book* was three months in preparation, was our biggest so far in pages and in edition, and was a resounding success, thanks surely to Rudolph Ruzicka's assistance on the cover design.

A quiet success year after year is our reissue, begun forty years ago, of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*. Volume XXXIII, Part 1 (1756), arrived in early June and is ready for distribution today. So is volume LXXI of the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, covering the Society's meetings from October, 1953, through May, 1957, which arrived last week. With that series up-to-date once more, work on the *Winthrop Papers* can now go forward.

Can the Fates be similarly tempted in the publishing years ahead? I can't be quite sure, but I intend to try.

After remarks by the President upon plans for the coming year, the Recording Secretary was asked to speak about his forthcoming book, *Boston: A Topographical History*, to be published on October 19, and about the study of Independent Historical Societies that he will be making during the coming year for the Council on Library Resources.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

At 6:30 P.M. the Society reconvened at the Club of Odd Volumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, for the Annual Dinner, at which Dr. Hudson Hoagland of the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology was the Speaker.

# November Meeting, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, November 12, 1959, President Adams in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. Hamilton read the record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 8, which was approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Rudolph Ruzicka, of Boston, and of election to Corresponding Membership from Raymond Phineas Stearns, of Urbana, Illinois.

The President then read the list of Standing Committees for 1959–1960:

*Finance:* JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., *Chairman*; THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, WILLIAM HENRY CLAFLIN, and HENRY LEE SHATTUCK.

*House:* EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, *Chairman*; JAMES LAWRENCE, JR., BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, and CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

*Library:* LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, *Chairman*; KEYES DEWITT METCALF, ROBERT EARLE MOODY, HENRY LATIMER SEAVER, and CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON.

*Meetings:* WILLIAM ALEXANDER JACKSON, *Chairman*; THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, and STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY.

*Membership:* THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, *Chairman*; JAMES BARR AMES, PAUL HERMAN BUCK, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

*Publication:* ROBERT EARLE MOODY, *Chairman*; LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, MALCOLM FREIBERG, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, CLIFFORD KENYON SHIPTON, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Edward L. Edes, of North Amherst, a small collection of Edes family papers, a miniature painting of John May (1744–1812) by William M. S. Doyle, and oil paintings of Rev. Henry Edes (1778–1851) and his wife Catharine Cravath May Edes (1782–1856).

From Miss Harriet Holmes, of Tucson, Arizona, the Civil War letters of Private Henry H. Robbins, August 29, 1860–November 15, 1863. Private Robbins served in the 29th Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and was stationed for a time in St. Aloysius Hospital, Washington, D. C. There is a drawing of the hospital in the collection.

From John Forbes Perkins, of Milton, a small collection of letters and writings of Robert S. Watson for the years 1847–1874, written chiefly from San Francisco to John Murray Forbes.

From Frederick A. Stevens, of Melrose, a lithograph published by J. McCallum, Boston, 1863, showing "Encampments of the Forty-third, Forty-fifth, Seventeenth & Fifty-first Regiments, Massachusetts Volunteers . . . on Trent River, near Newberne, N. Ca."

On deposit: from Henry B. Huntington, of Providence, Rhode Island, a partial file of the quarterly letters written by a group of graduates of the Harvard Class of 1897.

Mr. John Adams then read a paper entitled "Random Sketches over Eighty Years,"[32] telling of episodes from his early boyhood in

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[32] Printed in a shorter version in this volume, pp. 300–308.

Quincy and his early manhood in Idaho and recounting in some detail his later years as a Resident Member of the Society, as a member of its Council, and as President from 1950 to 1957. His son, President T. B. Adams, remarked that the Endowment Fund which his father had initiated would, with the addition of $685, reach the handsome total of $100,000.

The President then turned to the proposed alterations to the Society's building that would make a reading room out of the present museum room, a catalogue room out of the present manuscripts repairer's quarters, a print exhibit room out of the present reading room, and a combination office-display room out of the present Special Libraries room. He indicated to Members the priority of hopes, with the conversion of the museum room into a new reading room heading the list, and pointed out what various alterations would cost.

Members were then taken on a tour of the areas in the building where changes are to be effected, the President, the Director, and Mr. Lawrence answering questions. Plans of the proposed changes could be seen as the tour progressed.

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# December Meeting, 1959

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 10, 1959, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 12 was read and approved.

The President noted that the Endowment Fund now stood at $100,015.

The President then reported the death on November 19, 1959, of Ferris Greenslet,[33] who was elected a Resident Member on January 13, 1916.

Mr. Theodore Chase, of Dover, was elected a Resident Member, Michael J. Walsh speaking as his Sponsor.

The President reported that the fund for alterations to the Society's building, which a month ago stood at $6,000, now stands at $15,600 in hand and pledged for 1960.

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[33] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 379–384.

The President announced the completion early in December of the Society's microfilm edition of the Adams Papers, begun in 1954 with grants from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Philosophical Society and produced under the technical supervision of the Microreproduction Laboratory of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He mentioned particularly the many hours of labor contributed by the staffs of the Society and of the Adams Papers that assisted in the completion of this edition.

The date of the Society's Spring Reception in 1960 was announced for the afternoon of Friday, May 20.

Mr. Banks then read a manuscript letter that had lately come into his hands in which Sen. George F. Hoar complained in December, 1893, that his grandfather Sherman's papers were reputed illegally to have found their way into the Massachusetts Historical Society. In defense of the Society, the Director pointed out that far from having any Sherman collection as such the Society has in fact only twenty-three Sherman items, and these scattered in various collections. Mr. Banks then presented the letter for the Society to Mr. Riley, who accepted with unseeming alacrity.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Andrew Oliver, a collection of Oliver family papers. The collection contains letters of Jeremiah Mason, Joseph Story, and Daniel Webster, an account book of Samuel Seabury, 1749–1759, and eight pages of notes on the testimony given at the "Boston Massacre" trials.

From Robert M. Copeland, of Berkeley, California, two volumes relating to Col. Robert Gould Shaw of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment: *Memorial. R. G. S.* and *Letters. R. G. S.*, both privately printed at the University Press, Cambridge, in 1864. The volume *Letters* contains a letter of presentation from Mrs. Sarah B. Shaw dated August 6, 1864.

From Walter H. Kilham, Jr., of Greenwich, Connecticut, two typewritten volumes of reminiscences written by his father, Walter H. Kilham (1868–1948). The elder Mr. Kilham was a well-known Boston architect and former Member of this Society.

On deposit: from King's Chapel, Boston, the following volumes of church records to be added to other records deposited at an earlier date: 1. Ledger, 1685–1859; 2. Record or Entry Book, 1686–1719; 3. Records, 1686–1781.

By purchase: a letter written by John Quincy Adams to his brother Thomas

Boylston Adams dated April 11, 1802, a letter from Charles Francis Adams to Miss H. Jacobson dated February 21, 1877, a broadside poem entitled "Melancholy Shipwreck," composed by Thomas Shaw, of Standish, and printed at Portland, Maine, in 1807, and a volume of letters written by various correspondents to John Codman Ropes in 1896 concerning his article "The Venezuelan Question," printed in *The Bachelor of Arts*, May, 1896.

Mr. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., Associate Editor of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, read a paper entitled "Henry Stevens, his Uncle Samuel, and the Franklin Papers."[34]

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

## January Meeting, 1960

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, January 14, 1960, President Adams in the chair.

After the approval of the minutes of the December 10 meeting, which he read in the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. Butterfield read an informal addendum in the form of an amusing letter of December, 1818, about historical societies from John Adams to Francis Adrian Van der Kemp.

The President announced that the Endowment Fund now stands at $101,015 and the Fund for renovations to the Society's building at $20,200. The Council was noted as authorizing such renovations to begin.

The President reported the deaths of Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr.,[35] on December 23, 1959, elected a Resident Member on February 8, 1951, and of W. Cameron Forbes[36] on December 24, 1959, elected a Resident Member on June 9, 1921.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptance of election to Resident Membership from Theodore Chase, of Dover.

The Society then elected Francis Murray Forbes, Jr., of Boston, sponsored by Mr. Ames, and Samuel Edmund Thorne, of Cambridge, sponsored by Mr. McIlwain, to Resident Membership, and Ray Allen Billington, of Evanston, Illinois, sponsored by Mr. Riley, and Dr.

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[34] Printed in this volume, pp. 143–211.

[35] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 385–394.

[36] For an obituary, see the *New York Times*, Dec. 26, 1959, p. 13.

John Farquhar Fulton, of New Haven, Connecticut, sponsored by Mr. Wheatland, to Corresponding Membership.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. George W. Lewis, of Redondo Beach, California, a testimonial given by the State of Massachusetts to John C. Lewis, Company E, 3rd Heavy Artillery. The testimonial is dated at Boston, April 19, 1870, and is signed by James A. Cunningham, Attorney-General, and William Claflin, Governor.

From the Misses Anna P. and Margaret A. Revere, Paul Revere, and John Revere Chapin, of Chestnut Hill, the earliest known manuscript account of Paul Revere's ride written by himself. The Society owns the other two known manuscript accounts written by Revere.

From the St. Paul Public Library, Saint Paul, Minnesota, a small volume containing sermon notes made in 1715–1716 by Rev. Joseph Lord (1672?–1748) of Dorchester, South Carolina. Lord was later the minister in Chatham, Massachusetts.

By purchase: a collection of approximately 400 letters addressed to Emory Washburn (1800–1862), with some signed drafts in Washburn's hand, and a copy of Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849).

Mr. Bernhard Knollenberg read a paper entitled "Bunker Hill Re-viewed: A Study in the Conflict of Historical Evidence."[37]

The meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

# February Meeting, 1960

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at four o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, February 11, 1960, Vice-President Seaver in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of January 14 was read and approved.

Mr. Ames reported the receipt of acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Francis Murray Forbes, Jr., of Boston, and Samuel Edmund Thorne, of Cambridge, and of election to Corresponding Membership from Ray Allen Billington, of Evanston, Illinois, and Dr. John Farquhar Fulton, of New Haven, Connecticut.

The Treasurer reported that the Endowment Fund now stood at $101,080, the Library Fund at $3,849, and the Building Fund, exclusive of pledges before expenditure, at $22,849.

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[37] Printed in this volume, pp. 84–100.

Mr. Hamilton reported on the state of alterations to the Society's building.

Rear Admiral Ernest McNeill Eller, of Annapolis, Maryland, was elected to Corresponding Membership, Mr. Whitehill speaking as his Sponsor.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Samuel H. Gurvitz, of Sharon, a memorandum book kept by George Baker (1724–1810), of Dorchester, March 12, 1777–September 23, 1792.

From the Misses Anna P. and Margaret A. Revere, Paul Revere, and John Revere Chapin, a large addition to our Revere family papers. The gift includes family letters, 1769–1849; a bookplate of Paul Revere and the original plate; his trade card engraved by Thomas Clarke and the original plate; an engraving by Paul Revere of *A View of the Year 1765*, one of five known copies; the manuscript of the poem "Canton Dale," written by Paul Revere; a drawing by him showing his house and factory in Canton; the stock book of Paul Revere & Son for 1806, which also contains a record of most of the bells cast by the firm; and a volume containing several hundred receipts and bills for silver, cannon, etc.

From Mrs. Harry F. Sawtelle, of Brookline, a manuscript note written by Rebecca Bates, a heroine of the War of 1812.

From Mrs. Ward Thoron, of Boston, eleven letters from Mrs. Henry Adams to Theodore F. Dwight, 1882–1885, and nine letters from Edward William Hooper to Theodore Dwight relating to Henry Adams and his affairs, 1886–1889.

From Dr. Henry R. Viets, two letters from Edwin Walden to Col. Gardiner Tufts, March 1, 1881, and April 1, 1881.

By exchange: from the American Antiquarian Society, 257 miscellaneous Massachusetts newspapers.

By purchase: a small collection of papers of Thomas Hooper (1779–1868), of Charlestown, for the period 1773–1905.

Mr. Crane Brinton then read a paper entitled "Reflections on the Alienation of the Intellectuals."[38]

The meeting adjourned at 4:55 P.M.

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[38] Printed in this volume, pp. 351–358.

# March Meeting, 1960

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, March 10, 1960, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of February 11 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptance of election to Corresponding Membership from Ernest McNeill Eller, of Annapolis, Maryland.

The Treasurer reported that the Endowment Fund still stood at $101,080, and that the Library Fund had increased to $5,115 and the Building Fund to $24,426.

President Adams then welcomed as guests of the Society Messrs. Chester C. Steadman and Frederick H. Norton, Jr., vice-president and secretary, respectively, of the Boston Bar Association.

Mr. Adams noted at some length the fact that the alterations to the Society's building had commenced, what they would mean in terms of service to scholarship, and his hopes that additional income would be found to complete them properly and expeditiously.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth H. Andrews, of Cambridge, Alexander Gardner, *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War* (New York, 1959), Daybook (1812–1814) of Samuel Hale, Daybook (1818–1845) of John Niles, Jr., Daybook (1828–1830) of Ephraim Ally, Book for Entry of Executions (1819–1843) of Jason Braman, and Daybook (1810–1811) of John Davis.

From Benjamin H. Bicknell, of Dalton, the original MS of Luke Emerson Bicknell's "The Sharpshooters," an account of Capt. Saunders' Company, First Massachusetts Sharpshooters, in the Civil War.

From the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, a copy of [William Hughes], *The Man of Sin* (London, 1677) bearing the autograph of John Wise, 1720.

From John Richardson, of Boston, additions to the Higginson-Cabot-Channing papers for 1835–1836.

From Dr. Henry R. Viets, a letter from B. Cushing to Mrs. Anna Q. Cushing, Niagara Falls, June 6, 1852, describing his journey from Boston.

From the Wayside Inn Corporation, on permanent loan, a small but valuable collection of miscellaneous manuscripts.

Perry Miller then read a paper entitled "The Rise of the Legal

Profession in America, 1775–1861,"[39] which evoked much comment from the professors and practitioners of law who were present.

The meeting adjourned at 4:15 P.M.

## April Meeting, 1960

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, April 14, 1960, President Adams in the chair.

The usual order of business was altered to permit Mr. H. L. Shattuck, due shortly at another meeting elsewhere, to sponsor the nomination for election to Resident Membership of Benjamin Loring Young, of Boston.

The record of the stated meeting of March 10 was read and approved.

The Treasurer reported that the Endowment Fund now stood at $103,580, that the Library Fund remained unchanged at $5,115, that the Building Fund had reached $27,568, and announced the receipt of an anonymous undesignated gift of $1,000.

The President then spoke briefly on the Peter Oliver Fund within the Building Fund, indicating its origin and swift growth, and mentioned that the projected print room would, when completed, bear the name of Peter Oliver. He also noted the progress of the present alterations to the Society's building and the need for additional funds to complete them.

The President noted the presence as a guest of the Society of Sir Ronald Syme, Camden Professor of Ancient History at Oxford University.

The Society then elected to Resident Membership Mr. Young, already sponsored by Mr. Shattuck, Charles Francis Adams, of Dover, sponsored by T. B. Adams, and Henry Alexander Laughlin, of Concord, sponsored by Mr. Wilson.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Charles Sumner Bird, a collection of 238 printed volumes on American history and biography.

From John Richardson, of Boston, additions to the Higginson-Cabot-

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[39] To appear in a study on the American mind, 1775–1861.

Channing papers, consisting of letters written by Dr. and Mrs. Francis J. Higginson from Michigan, 1838–1841.

From Benjamin Tighe, of Athol, a small collection of manuscripts, including seven begging letters written by T. M. Acosta to Gen. Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn in 1820.

From Benjamin Loring Young, a portrait of his ancestor, Benjamin Loring, painted by Ethan Allen Greenwood in 1813, and a copy of the Sidney L. Smith engraving of Christian Remick's watercolor *A Prospective View of Part of the Common.*

Mr. Waldo Gifford Leland then read a paper entitled "John Franklin Jameson and American Historical Scholarship" in which he indicated the depth and breadth of Jameson's contributions to the world of historical learning.

Mr. Whitehill noted informally the contribution of $1,000 on April 12, 1960, of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation to the Society's Building Fund.

The meeting adjourned at 4:40 P.M.

# May Meeting, 1960

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 12, 1960, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of April 14 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary then reported the receipt of acceptances of election to Resident Membership from Charles Francis Adams, of Dover, Henry Alexander Laughlin, of Concord, and Benjamin Loring Young, of Boston.

The Treasurer asked that the following motion be approved: "That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the current fiscal year be added to the unrestricted income of the Society." It was so voted. Mr. Paine then reported that the Building Fund now stood at $31,828, that the Endowment Fund had reached $104,580, and that the Library Fund had increased to $5,175. He also noted that the Peter Oliver Fund was within $200 of its goal of $10,000.

After mentioning progress in the changes to the Society's building and present hopes for the completion of the work, Mr. Adams noted the death of Copley Amory,[40] who was elected a Resident Member on May 12, 1955, on April 16, 1960, and of Ellery Sedgwick,[41] who was elected a Resident Member on December 10, 1914, on April 21, 1960.

Mr. Adams announced the appointment of the following Nominating Committee: EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, *Chairman*; L. H. BUTTERFIELD, JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., and MICHAEL J. WALSH, to prepare a ballot for the Annual Meeting in October.

The Society then elected George Peabody Gardner, of Brookline, sponsored by Mr. Loring, Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, of Northampton, sponsored by Mr. Ames, and Walt Whitman Rostow, of Belmont, sponsored by Mr. Homans, to Resident Membership, and John Morton Blum, of New Haven, Connecticut, sponsored by Elting E. Morison, to Corresponding Membership.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Richard O. Hathaway, of Brunswick, Maine, a personal account book kept by David Clapp, Jr., a printer in Boston, February 6, 1827–April 2, 1835.

From Mrs. Robert Homans, of Boston, an autograph letter from Louisa Catherine (Mrs. John Quincy) Adams to her niece by marriage, Elizabeth Coombs Adams, and a manuscript diary of Thomas Boylston Adams, youngest son of President John Adams, December, 1798–August, 1799.

From Miss Margaret H. Jones, of Brookline, a small collection of manuscripts, 1853–1881, relating to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, including letters by Charles Francis Adams, Phillips Brooks, Edward Everett, Sarah J. Hale, and William T. Sherman.

From Miss Rebecca W. McLanathan, of Wellesley, two letters written by Oliver Holden, the composer, to members of his family, dated at Charlestown, January 15, 1804, and December 14, 1818.

From Miss Penelope Noyes, of Cambridge, a small collection of Justin Winsor material, including his interleaved copy of his *History of the Town of Duxbury* (Boston, 1849).

From Sebastian Raymond Smedile, of Boston, a photograph of a letter written in Ralph Waldo Emerson's hand and signed by him and the Harvard Board of Overseers asking Edwin P. Whipple to repeat his Lowell lectures on English literature. The letter is dated at Boston, March 15, 1860.

From William C. White, of New York, New York, a typewritten transcript of a seaman's journal kept by Edward Norris, master of the ship *Mary Ann*, on a voyage from Salem to Copenhagen and Calcutta, 1806–1807.

By purchase: a small collection of George Luther Stearns papers, including

[40] For an obituary, see the *Boston Herald*, April 18, 1960, p. 25.

[41] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 395–396.

letters of Stearns, Charles Sumner, David Lee Child, Samuel T. May, Jr., and Stearns's oldest son, Harry, 1860–1872.

Elliott Perkins, President Adams, and Dr. John A. Abbott, grandsons of their subject, then presented "Three Views of Charles Francis Adams, II,"[42] Mr. Perkins giving a military appraisal, Mr. Adams a literary appraisal, and Dr. Abbott a personal appraisal.

The meeting adjourned at 4:40 P.M.

# Annual Meeting

## *OCTOBER*, 1960

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, October 13, 1960, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of May 12 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptances of election to Resident Membership from George Peabody Gardner, of Brookline, Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, of Northampton, and Walt Whitman Rostow, of Belmont, and of election to Corresponding Membership from John Morton Blum, of New Haven, Connecticut.

The President reported the deaths of Dr. John Farquhar Fulton,[43] elected a Corresponding Member on January 14, 1960, who died on May 29, 1960; of Commodore Dudley Wright Knox,[44] U. S. Navy, elected a Corresponding Member on February 8, 1945, who died on June 11, 1960; of St. George Leakin Sioussat,[45] elected a Corresponding Member on March 9, 1939, who died on August 31, 1960; and of Clarence Henry Haring,[46] elected a Resident Member on May 12, 1927, who died on September 4, 1960.

Mr. Richard Hofstadter of New York, New York, was then elected a Corresponding Member, Mr. Buck speaking as his Sponsor, and Sir Ronald Syme, Camden Professor of Ancient History, Oxford

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[42] Printed in this volume, pp. 212–237.

[43] For an obituary, see the *New Haven Journal-Courier*, May 30, 1960, pp. 1, 44.

[44] A memoir is scheduled for a future volume in this series.

[45] For a memoir, see Library of Congress, *Information Bulletin*, Sept. 6, 1960, pp. 512–513.

[46] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 397–400.

University, was elected a Corresponding Member, Mr. Hammond speaking as his Sponsor.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Anna Wigglesworth Chase, of Milton, a number of printed books, including two bearing the autograph of Michael Wigglesworth: Herodotus, . . . *Historiae sui Temporis Libri VIII* (London, 1639), and Cornelius Tacitus, . . . *Taciti Opera Quae Exstant* (Geneva, 1619).

From Philip Putnam Chase, five volumes of papers of the Young Men's Democratic Club, and eight boxes of clippings and one box of letters, 1891–1892, of George Fred Williams papers.

From Mrs. F. Clarke Dugan, of Louisville, Kentucky, additional letters and books to be added to the Preston-Dodge collection, given in 1949.

From Mrs. William C. Lane, through Milton E. Lord, a number of photographs taken by members of the Champlain Society on Mount Desert Island in the early 1880's. The Champlain Society was made up of a number of Harvard undergraduates interested in the natural sciences.

From Joseph Manley Mellen, of Bowdoinham, Maine, the very fine diary of General Henry Sewall, 1776–1842.

From Richard M. Russell, of Essex, the papers of Governor William E. Russell. The collection consists of twenty boxes of papers, speeches, and notes, 1861–1913, and forty-two volumes of scrapbooks and letter books.

From Mrs. Ward Thoron, of Boston, a letter from William Sturgis to Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated April 6, 1863, enclosing a check for $1,197 sufficient to enable the Society to pay off its mortgage.

By purchase: a collection of the papers of Dr. Samuel Holten (1738–1816) for the period 1779–1815. Dr. Holten was a Massachusetts physician who served on committees of the Provincial and Continental Congresses which dealt with medical and surgical affairs of the Revolutionary armies; a letter from John Eliot to William Bentley, dated January 11, 1810, about the troubles with the compilation of his biographical dictionary; a small collection of papers relating to Colonel Edward Hutchinson, 1679–1753; a nice pamphlet, *Rules for the Game of Cards, called Boston* (Gravesend, 1800); the autograph manuscript of the remarks of Governor Increase Sumner to the Massachusetts legislature on first meeting in the New State House; and a number of letters written by Eliza Susan Quincy to Samuel Adams Drake and others containing reminiscences about Boston, 1862–1873.

The President reported that Ellis Hall was today for the first time in use as a reading room. With the relish of a soldier nailing an Indian scalp to a town gate, he hung the sign "CLOSED TODAY EXCEPT TO MEMBERS" on the frame of Thomas Dowse's portrait and expressed his satisfaction that we had seen the last of that particular nuisance, for henceforth scholars could work freely in the building on meeting days. He reported that $35,000 of the $49,000 requested for building alterations had already been received, and that $14,000 remained to be raised. With the completion of Ellis Hall, work can now begin on the print room, which is to be a memorial to Peter Oliver, for which funds are in hand, but that an effort must be made to obtain further gifts in order to complete the changes that are needed in the special libraries room on the first floor and in the area below it. Mr. Adams commented upon the magnificent work that Mr. James Lawrence, Jr., had done in planning these alterations and expressed the Society's gratitude for Mr. Lawrence's refusal to take any fee for his own time in planning and supervising the work.

The stated meeting was then adjourned, and, without visible change in the appearance of the Dowse Library or its occupants, the Annual Meeting was called to order.

On behalf of the Nominating Committee, Mr. Hamilton presented the following ballot for Officers for the year 1960–1961:

*President*
THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS

*Vice-Presidents*
HENRY LATIMER SEAVER
STEPHEN WHEATLAND

*Recording Secretary*
WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

*Corresponding Secretary*
JAMES BARR AMES

*Treasurer*
JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR.

*Cabinet-Keeper*
EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON

*Members-at-Large of the Council*
1960–1963
MASON HAMMOND
HENRY ALEXANDER LAUGHLIN

It was voted to ask the Recording Secretary to cast one vote for the slate as nominated; this being done, the above Officers were declared elected.

Mr. Paine read the

## *REPORT OF THE TREASURER*

I HEREWITH submit my report to our Society for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1960.

Financially this past year has been another favorable one for the Society. A campaign was inaugurated around Christmas time to raise a minimum of $30,000 for the Building Fund with an eventual objective of $49,000. With the $3,217 contributed last year, contributions to this Fund so far total $32,124. Of this amount, $10,267 was given by the family and friends of our late Member, Peter Oliver, specifically for renovating a room to be dedicated to his memory and used as a special exhibition room. Many of these generous contributors were not Members of the Society. All gifts to the Building Fund have been added to the accumulated income of the Norcross Fund, I, where they are available for the costs of the renovations as these progress. Since the accumulated income from this Fund is for the upkeep of property and collections and, exclusive of the Building Fund gifts referred to, amounts to $3,167, this sum also is available for building alterations. The Endowment Fund was increased by $2,970 to $89,820. Donations and credits from sales added to the Library Fund totaled $2,455, and this Fund now amounts to $5,837. In addition, two new Funds were established. One, to be known as the Edward P. Hamilton Fund, was started with $2,500 and is tied in with the writing of a book from which the Society will receive royalty payments upon its publication, all to be invested with the general Funds of the Society and all income being available for the Society's general purposes. Should the author fail to finish the book, the Society agrees to return the sum of $2,500 to the publisher. The second Fund, known as the Saltonstall Fund, has been started with an initial contribution of $1,000 to be used by the Society for the care of the Saltonstall papers held by the Society and for editorial purposes relating to them. The Bortman Fund was increased by $250 and the Paine Publication Fund by $601.

The same Finance Committee was reappointed in November, 1959, to serve for 1959–1960: JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., *Chairman*; THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, WILLIAM HENRY CLAFLIN, and HENRY LEE SHATTUCK. Brown, Bacall & Company was again named to audit the Society's books, as it has for the past eighteen years.

Members of the Finance Committee received quarterly appraisals of the Society's investments and held meetings in July and November of last year as well as several telephone consultations. One equity investment was eliminated and several others reduced by small amounts. Equity holdings now number thirty-eight and comprise 65.5% of the Society's investments compared with 69.3% a year ago.

Income from investments for this past year, 1959–1960, increased 15.4% to $108,930, compared with an increase of 15% for the year before. In the three-year period since 1957, when the present Finance Committee was first appointed, income has increased from $75,909 for the year ended June 30, 1957, or approximately 43.6%. Some of this increase of income was due to additions to principal amounting to $142,217 and to a smaller extent to the temporary investment of contributions to the Building Fund, but the larger part was due to changes of investments. The income received in this latest period amounts to 3.7% of the market value of investments of June 30, 1960, compared with 3.3% the year before. The market value of our investments on June 30, 1960, totaled $2,961,452, compared to $2,320,286 three years ago. Again, the Treasurer feels that a debt of gratitude is owed by the Society to the other members of the Finance Committee for their able advice and for the time they have given so generously to its affairs.

Additional changes of investments resulted in a further increase of book values as indicated below:

| *Book Value June 30, 1960* | *Book Value June 30, 1959* | *Increase* |
|---|---|---|
| $1,941,626 | $1,858,469 | $83,158 |

A comparison of market values of the Society's investments follows:

| | *June 30, 1960* | % | *June 30, 1959* | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bonds, including | | | | |
| U. S. Treasury Bills . . | $1,004,424 | 33.9 | $ 873,975 | 30.4 |
| Common Stocks . . . . | 1,938,080 | 65.5 | 1,994,670 | 69.3 |
| Cash Bank Balance . . . | 18,948 | 0.6 | 8,953 | 0.3 |
| | $2,961,452 | 100.0 | $2,877,598 | 100.0 |

| | |
|---|---|
| | $2,961,452 |
| | −2,877,598 |
| | +$83,854 |
| Deduct: | |
| New additions to principal | $10,824 |
| Net contributions to Building Fund | 21,872 |
| Increase of market value | $51,158 (+2.7%) |

General and administrative expenses for the two years compare as follows:

| | *1960* | *1959* |
|---|---|---|
| Salaries | $45,829 | $42,268 |
| Administration of funds | 5,884 | 5,068 |
| Meetings and membership | 788 | 1,141 |
| Library | 6,122 | 5,775[47] |
| Building | 7,725 | 6,664 |
| | $66,348 | $60,916 |

General and administrative expenses increased $5,432 or about 8.9%. The increase of salaries to $45,829 was anticipated in my report of last year due to putting into effect Blue Cross-Blue Shield P. I. C. coverage and a retirement plan as of March 1, 1959, as well as making substantial increases of actual salaries. Several additional increases were made recently, and an additional full-time assistant librarian has been engaged, which will result in a further substantial annual salary increase.

Additional expenses and disbursements, not included above, in the amount of $23,530 were charged to the income of specific funds. Of this amount, $3,385 covered the cost of publishing a volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, the Commonwealth refunding $2,250 in payment for 300 copies. Volume LXXI of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society cost $9,231, while the Jefferson Picture Book in May ran $1,361. Since contributions to the Building Fund have been added to the accumulated income of the Norcross Fund, I, expenses during the year for the current building renovation program totaling $7,036 were charged to this Fund.

Our operating deficit for some years now has been charged to the Sibley Fund, but this charge has been reduced from $6,397 in the year 1956–1957 to $1,060 two years ago, while for the year ended June 30, 1960, for the first time we showed a surplus of $44.29. Because our country's economy appears to be facing a leaner period for a while, our income for the next year or so is likely to show a decline in place of the substantial increases that have resulted in each of the past three years. In preparation for such a period, the accumulated income of the Sibley Fund, which really represents our only source of surplus with which to cover operating deficits, has been allowed to increase from $29,729 on June 30, 1957, to $60,838 currently, or approximately 105%.

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[47] Corrected.

These figures and comparisons do not reflect the investment and income therefrom of the Adams Papers Editorial and Microfilm Funds. Details of these Funds and complete details of the Society's financial affairs appear in the auditor's report on file at the Society.

Mr. John Adams admonished the Treasurer for not having more clearly underlined the remarkable nature of his performance in increasing the Society's income by more than 40% in the past three years.

The Director then read the

## *REPORT OF THE COUNCIL*

IF the Society had a Poet Laureate, this would be the appropriate time for him to deliver an ode entitled "On Moving from the Old Reading Room to the New." After months of dust and confusion the new reading room is practically ready and is being used for the first time today. This move—so long awaited by many of us—cannot help stirring up memories in the older Members of the Society and in those members of the Staff who have worked in the old reading room for such a long time. For sixty years, amateur and professional historians have known it, many first as fledgling scholars whose skinny posteriors squirmed uneasily on our hard chairs, later as veterans with more physical and mental ballast. To list the names of all the famous historians who have studied in it would be a major undertaking. Channing, Hart, Turner, Rhodes, Bassett, Beveridge, Bemis, Fox, Jameson, the Adamses, Andrews, Morison, Merk, the Schlesingers, Nevins, Freeman, Morse, Commager would merely start the litany. It has been a pleasant and profitable meeting ground for scholars and Staff alike. May those who use and those who have charge of the new reading room enjoy the same happy relationship in the years to come. To the Members and friends who have made this handsome room possible we offer our sincere thanks.

To make way for the new room the museum has been dismantled, the items in it carefully marked, boxed, and placed in one of the Society's vaults. Some of the pieces will be shown in rotating exhibitions when the new Peter Oliver exhibition room is completed.

The number of scholars who visited us this past year, particularly this summer, pointed up more than ever the wisdom of creating new quarters for them. You might be interested in a listing of some of the subjects they worked on. Arranged roughly chronologically, this random sampling from our visitors' book goes as follows: The New England Confederacy, John Winthrop, Jr., Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewall, Seventeenth-Century Education, New England Theology, Edward Taylor, John Wheelwright, The Huguenots in Boston, The Cure of the Mentally Ill in Colonial America, Admiralty Courts in New England, The Coming of the Revolution in the Southern Colonies, Joseph Warren, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Cushing, The History of Newburyport, Matthew Ridley, James Madison, The Constitution of the United States, The XYZ Affair, Fisher Ames, Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings, Philadelphia Society in the 1790's, John Taylor of Caroline, Timothy Pickering, Robert Troup, Elbridge Gerry, The Culture of Federalist New England, Imprisonment for Debt in Massachusetts, Russo-American Trade, New England Singing Schools, William H. Crawford, British Abolition Movement, Lyman Beecher, Theodore Parker, Martin Van Buren, Alexander Everett, Edward Everett, Horace Mann, William Lloyd Garrison, The Shakers, Jones Very, The Canton Trade, 1784–1844, Maria Edgeworth, William Cullen Bryant, The Whig Party, The Centennial History of the Civil War, William Hickling Prescott, Liberal Republicans, 1868–1872, Americans in Italy, George Bancroft, George Frisbie Hoar, Cleveland Democrats in Massachusetts, Henry James, Charles Dickens, Richard Henry Dana, Charles W. Eliot, Justin Winsor, John Davis Long, Charles Francis Adams, II, Henry Adams and John La Farge, John Hay, Woman Suffrage, and Theodore Roosevelt. One researcher using our Brooks Adams material listed his subject as "Cataclysmic Thought."

Our rich collection of manuscripts is the honey that draws these workers to the Society. The motto on the seal of the Society indicates our true function. Freely translated, it means "Thus do ye, bees, for others make honey." This process goes on steadily, and we have added important manuscripts and books to our holdings during the past year.[48] They have been described in detail in the monthly accession reports. The high light of the year was the acquisition of additional Paul Revere manuscripts, including the earliest account of his ride written by himself. It was particularly gratifying to have the ownership of the Russell and Williams papers turned over to us through the efforts of our Member Philip P. Chase. More and more scholars are coming to us for manuscript material for the period from 1865 to 1914. This is the weakest area in our collection, and all Members are respectfully urged to help the Society secure the important Massachusetts collections that have not yet passed out of family hands.

While the joys of scholarship are many, there are moments when even the most devoted scholar has misgivings. The Reverend John Eliot, one of our founders, apparently had such a moment when he wrote to the Reverend William Bentley on January 11, 1810, about the recent publication of his *Biographical Dictionary*:

> I am sorry I ever published it. My design was to be preparing it three or 4 years, and then make a job for my son. When Allen published his proposals, I was pressed into a thing I knew to be precipitate and wrong. I was urged by friends who felt or feigned friendship, and expressed a higher opinion of my abilities *than I know* they had. I was sick, hurried, plagued with other affairs. The gentleman who undertook to serve, heaped cases without putting a finger to lighten the burden. They engaged blockheads for printers, one of whom left it to print the *Patriot*, and the other was always sure of making mistakes, more so after a proof was corrected, if a figure could be *turned upside down*. It will never see another edition in my day.

The gift by Thomas Boylston Adams of several letters written by Worthington C. Ford to Miss Elsie Adams has made us sharply aware of Ford's talent as a letter writer and of the need of a collected edition

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[48] Complete figures for printed accessions during the year 1959–1960 are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Books | 289 |
| Pamphlets | 163 |
| Periodicals | 695 |
| Broadsides | 64 |
| Newspapers | 358 |
| Maps | 1 |
| *Total* | 1,570 |

of his letters. Here is a sample passage from one of his letters to Miss Adams dated at Le Vésinet, France, September 18, 1938, dealing with Franklin D. Roosevelt:

> Thanks for your letter—an excellent letter and proof that you have been politically trained, like so many of your forebears. You make an excellent defense of your position and with some of your statements I agree. We approach the subject from different positions. You blame him for his errors and failures and hold him personally responsible for all blunders. I rest upon his gains and his social outlook and am willing to make allowance for the bigness of the problem, the disturbed world conditions and the frailty of the human instrument. That he has accomplished good his enemies will admit; and they confess that if they are to win the public confidence they must adopt some of his purposes not yet accomplished. I do regard his attempted reform of the Supreme Court as an error in method; but he called attention to a serious situation and the court is on a better footing today than ever, strengthened by the purge and better able to cope with the pressing problems of the day. Black was an incident—an unfortunate one, yet no greater than has been committed twenty times in the past. It is absurd to insist that Black will reduce the court to his level. He is only one of nine. Remember what was said when Brandeis was appointed. He certainly proved his worth and stands by the side of Holmes and Cardozo. Then, under our party system the President has always been regarded as the leader of his party. It has been so since Jefferson's day. If the President believes his administration to be thwarted by opposition within his party, he has a perfect right to fight that opposition in the campaigns. He does so at his own risk and thus far FDR has won in only one case. So, where was the danger of the impropriety? The TVA threatened a scandal as big as Teapot Dome. I see that Arthur Morgan retracts all his charges and lays them to his highly strung condition. As to TVA being a yardstick, it will still be one even if it fails, for it will measure the unfitness of government management. Over here government gas and electricity are a success. Why could it not be one in the U. S.—unless we are constitutionally dishonest? We could discuss these matters to the crack of doom and not agree. And the crack of doom seems a matter of a day or two. The fear is ever present and each day threatens an explosion. Is it not a shocking thing to have the world's future rest on the acts of three powers, unrestrained in their greed and acts! I have just completed a rereading of Gibbon. A dictator in the first centuries A. D. does not seem out of place. In 1938 there is no shadow of an excuse for his existence. The U. S. will never have a dictator as long as the Senate exists.

Ford served as the Society's Editor of Publications from 1909 to 1929, and we have many of his letters in our official files. We hope that all Members owning Ford letters will turn them over to the Society or permit us to make copies.

Mr. Freiberg will report on the Society's publications of the past year. If members of the Committee of Publication seem to walk with a slight list, it will be due to the volume of Adams, Sibley, and *Proceedings* proof that has swollen their brief cases during recent months. Since the Society cannot possibly publish all the important manuscripts it owns, the Council has given permission to accredited scholars to publish some of its materials elsewhere. Recently the University of Oklahoma Press published the *Letters of Francis Parkman*, edited by Wilbur R. Jacobs. More than one-third of the Parkman letters are owned by the Society. Permission has also been granted to other scholars to publish certain of our Dana, Preble, and Sewall papers.

With no blizzards to interfere with our regular meetings, we drew an average attendance of thirty-three. Dr. Hudson Hoagland, our guest speaker at the annual banquet, delivered a provocative talk on the population explosion and methods of controlling it. An effect was undoubtedly produced on the membership, for a week later the late Charles P. Curtis ended a letter to the Director with the complimentary close "Contraceptively yours, Charlie." The 237 guests at the Spring Reception divided their time between examining an exhibition of Thomas Jefferson's architectural drawings and watching the workmen strip the dark finish from the handsome oak paneling in Ellis Hall. A Picture Book—*Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings*—with a foreword by Frederick D. Nichols, was distributed at the party. Our latest social event was a reception given to the Society of American Archivists at the Colonial Society last week. This was sponsored by the Colonial Society and this Society and proved to be a very pleasant affair even though it reduced our joint liquor supply to the vanishing point.

It is always a sad duty to list the names of those Members who died during the past year. Ferris Greenslet, elected a Resident Member on January 13, 1916, died in Cambridge on November 19, 1959; Charles Pelham Curtis, Jr., elected a Resident Member on February 8, 1951, died in Boston on December 23, 1959; W. Cameron Forbes, elected a Resident Member on June 9, 1921, died in Boston on December 24, 1959; Copley Amory, a Resident Member since May 12, 1955, died in Boston on April 16, 1960; Ellery Sedgwick, a Resident Member since December 10, 1914, died in Washington, D. C., on April 21, 1960; Dr. John Farquhar Fulton, elected a Corresponding

Member on January 14, 1960, died in Hamden, Connecticut, on May 29, 1960; Dudley Wright Knox, elected a Corresponding Member on February 8, 1945, died in Bethesda, Maryland, on June 11, 1960; St. George Leakin Sioussat, elected a Corresponding Member on March 9, 1939, died in Washington, D. C., on August 31, 1960; and Clarence Henry Haring, a Resident Member since May 12, 1937, died in Cambridge on September 4, 1960.

Nine Resident Members and six Corresponding Members have been elected since the last Annual Meeting in the following order: Resident—Theodore Chase, Francis Murray Forbes, Jr., Samuel Edmund Thorne, Charles Francis Adams, Henry Alexander Laughlin, Benjamin Loring Young, George Peabody Gardner, Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, Walt Whitman Rostow; Corresponding—Ray Allen Billington, Dr. John Farquhar Fulton, Ernest McNeill Eller, John Morton Blum, Richard Hofstadter, Sir Ronald Syme. Counting the Members elected today, we now have 10 Honorary Members, 3 Associate Members, 65 Corresponding Members, and 138 Resident Members.

We are happy to report that John Daniel Cushing, a graduate of the University of New Hampshire and a Ph.D. in American history from Clark University, has joined the Society's staff as Assistant Librarian. Ralph A. Jordan resigned his position as Building Superintendent and has been succeeded by Julius A. Prince, Jr. Charlotte J. Bustin, our Secretary, is now Mrs. Jerome E. Weinstein.

May I say again how pleased and excited we are by the changes that have taken place in the building. We are looking forward with great anticipation to the further alterations scheduled for this coming year.

Mr. Freiberg then read the

## *REPORT OF THE EDITOR*

SINCE the last Annual Meeting, the Society has completed and distributed its Microfilm Edition of the Adams Papers and published the following: its 1960 Picture Book on *Thomas Jefferson's Architectural Drawings*; *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, XXXIII, Part 2 (1757); and *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, XI (1741–1745).

The student of eighteenth-century America who does not know of the Sibley series, or of its present author, Clifford K. Shipton, or of the pride the Society takes in them both is probably unique. Although not so well-known, our year-by-year reprint of the Massachusetts *House Journals* makes these rare legislative volumes available once more, this time with introductions and indexes not in the originals. Our Jefferson Picture Book was, we like to think, well-received, for it will appear in the future in a second and enlarged edition, underwritten by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation and the University of Virginia Press and with commentary and a check list by Frederick D. Nichols of the University of Virginia architecture faculty, who so capably provided ideas and text to the first edition last May. The termination last December of the Microfilm Edition of the Adams Papers—complete from 1639 to 1889 in 608 reels—put at the disposal of many scholars in this country and abroad one of the richest American Presidential family archives known. It was a service to scholarship from start to finish, one we were glad to initiate and one we were even gladder, understandably, to complete, the task of production having spanned many years.

So much for the twelvemonth gone by. What of the one ahead?

Another microfilm edition—this time of the Henry Knox Papers—is virtually completed. This project has benefited throughout from the enthusiasm and hard work of our Resident Member Frederick S. Allis, Jr., whose services ranged from securing a grant for starting the work to proofreading the completed films. Already we are soliciting orders for this bargain of the decade, whose fifty-five reels and bound index volume sell for only $375. Other bargains will one day be listed in a printed catalogue of Massachusetts Historical Society publications still in print, something we have long wanted to do. One and possibly two future numbers of the *M. H. S. Miscellany* are in the works. The next two volumes of *Collections* are taking shape. The forthcoming volume of *Proceedings* is as up-to-date as I can make it. And cataloguing of our Winthrop MSS—a necessity if the printed edition is to be correct and complete—has begun and is progressing.

Put in other terms, the twelvemonth ahead is spoken for. While we are not publishing as much as we should like, we are at least holding our own.

Mr. Whitehill then spoke briefly on the visits that he had paid to historical societies throughout the United States during the past year in the course of a study undertaken for the Council on Library Resources, Inc.

The meeting adjourned at 4:40 P.M.

At 6:30 P.M. the Annual Dinner of the Society was held at the Club of Odd Volumes, 77 Mount Vernon Street, Boston. Professor Frederick Merk was the Guest of Honor and Speaker, his address being entitled "Safety Valve Thesis: 1844."[49] The single-mindedness of the Massachusetts Historical Society was conspicuously proved on October 13, 1960, for it was no less remarkable to have thirty-seven gentlemen ignoring the World's Series in the Dowse Library during the afternoon than to have a sizable company listening to Mr. Merk's well-reasoned and scholarly discourse on the annexation of Texas at a moment when Presidential candidates Kennedy and Nixon were slanging each other on television.

# November Meeting, 1960

THE Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, November 10, 1960, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated and Annual Meeting of October 13 was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptance of election to Corresponding Membership from Richard Hofstadter, of New York, New York.

The Treasurer gave his monthly report, after which the President announced the appointment of Standing Committees for 1960–1961, as follows:

*Finance:* JOHN BRYANT PAINE, JR., *Chairman*; THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, WILLIAM HENRY CLAFLIN, and HENRY LEE SHATTUCK.

*House:* EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, *Chairman*; JAMES LAWRENCE, JR., BERTRAM KIMBALL LITTLE, and CARLETON RUBIRA RICHMOND.

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[49] Printed as "A Safety Valve Thesis and Texan Annexation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIX (1962), 413–436.

*Library:* Lyman Henry Butterfield, *Chairman*; Keyes DeWitt Metcalf, Robert Earle Moody, Henry Latimer Seaver, and Clifford Kenyon Shipton.

*Meetings:* William Alexander Jackson, *Chairman*; Thomas Boylston Adams, and Stephen Thomas Riley.

*Membership:* Thomas Boylston Adams, *Chairman*; James Barr Ames, Paul Herman Buck, Edward Pierce Hamilton, Stephen Thomas Riley, Walter Muir Whitehill, and Thomas James Wilson.

*Publication:* Robert Earle Moody, *Chairman*; Lyman Henry Butterfield, Malcolm Freiberg, Stephen Thomas Riley, Clifford Kenyon Shipton, and Walter Muir Whitehill.

Daniel Webster's hat was placed upon the table to remind Members of the parched condition of the Madeira Fund. It was soon filled with contributions.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From the American Antiquarian Society, a small collection of miscellaneous manuscripts, 1674–1865.

From the officers of the now defunct Governor Thomas Dudley Family Association, seven letters and documents of Paul and William Dudley, 1700–1717.

From M. P. Schermerhorn, of Saint Petersburg, Florida, a folder of manuscripts of the Porter family of Weymouth, 1701–1837.

From Mrs. Foster Stearns, of Exeter, New Hampshire, the diary of F. E. Fiske, October 23, 1864–December 18, 1865. Fiske came from the Boston area and served as a keeper of an army store in Morehead City, North Carolina. Also his account book, 1880–1881.

From Miss Evelyn May Woolston, of Los Angeles, California, a letter written by Edward B. Rowe to Augustus A. Rowe on November 10, 1872, in which he describes the great fire in Boston; also some interesting reminiscences by Miss Woolston of life in Boston fifty years ago.

Mr. George L. Haskins then read a paper entitled "Ecclesiastical Antecedents of Criminal Punishment in Early Massachusetts."[50]

After comments by Members, the meeting was adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

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[50] Printed in this volume, pp. 21–35.

# December Meeting, 1960

The Society met in the Dowse Library at three o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, December 8, 1960, President Adams in the chair.

The record of the stated meeting of November 10, read by Mr. Shipton in the absence of the Recording Secretary, was approved.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of acceptance of election to Corresponding Membership from Sir Ronald Syme, of Oxford, England.

The Treasurer reported, noting that the Endowment Fund stood at $107,396, and that the Building Fund had reached $40,572.50.

The President announced the deaths of Theodore Clarke Smith,[51] elected a Resident Member on March 9, 1905, which occurred in North Adams on November 19, 1960; and of Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe,[52] elected a Resident Member on November 8, 1906, and an Honorary Member on May 12, 1955, which occurred in Cambridge on December 6, 1960.

The President then announced a committee to prepare for the Society's Spring Reception in 1961, as follows: THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS, *Chairman*; LYMAN HENRY BUTTERFIELD, EDWARD PIERCE HAMILTON, STEPHEN THOMAS RILEY, and WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL.

Douglas Wallace Bryant, of Lexington, sponsored by Mr. Buck, and Kenneth Schuyler Lynn, of Cambridge, sponsored by Perry Miller, were elected to Resident Membership, and David Herbert Donald, of Princeton, New Jersey, sponsored by Mr. Butterfield, and Nicholas Biddle Wainwright, sponsored by Mr. Shipton, were elected to Corresponding Membership.

The Director reported the following accessions:

From Mr. and Mrs. L. H. Butterfield, a manuscript account by Samuel Gray Ward (1817–1907) of an interview with Jones Very (1813–1880), the Transcendental poet, in 1839.

From Carleton R. Richmond, a small collection of manuscripts, 1775–1862, including letters of Benedict Arnold, Edward Everett, Wade Hampton, Thomas J. Jackson, Joseph E. Johnston, and Daniel Webster.

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[51] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 401–402.

[52] For a memoir, see this volume, pp. 403–408.

From the Thorndike family, through Mrs. Lyneham Crocker, of Boston, a letter written by George Washington to Richard Sprigg, dated at Mount Vernon, May 18, 1785, and a copy of a letter from George Washington to Martha Washington dated at Philadelphia, June 18, 1775.

By purchase: a document recording land grants in Medfield in 1652, signed by Henry Adams (1604–1676), the son of Henry Adams of Braintree.

Sir Ronald Syme then read a paper entitled "The Greeks under Roman Rule."[53]

After comments by Members and a further call by the President for additional donations for the Madeira Fund by way of Daniel Webster's hat, the meeting adjourned at 4:30 P.M.

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[53] Printed in this volume, pp. 3–20.

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